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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MARCH 14, 1992 VOL 128 NO 11

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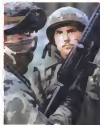
Robert MacNeil pursues his quest for Canadians in a novel set at the time of the 1917 Balfour Declaration; how a father's absence may define a daughter's life.

56 FOTHERINGHAM

COVER

DRUMBEATS OF RAGE

Representatives of a million Canadian Indians, Inuit and Métis are meeting in Ottawa this week to reinforce their demands for constitutional recognition of their right to self-government. But the native campaign faces tough and physical opposition from many federal leaders and many journalists. They want the disengaged native groups to define exactly what self-government means. — 14



COMPUTERS

A 'TERRORIST' VIRUS

The Michelangelo virus caused worldwide havoc in computers last week, including those in Peter Dinklage's computer support company. Wildspread advance publicly provoked more chaos. But experts warned that electronic terrorism remains a formidable and often unpredictable threat. — 48



BUSINESS

OPERATION FUNTAXI

Howard Wolfe caught the first scent of the deal in Costa Rica. From there, he pursued it to Argentina, where a group of taxi owners were set to buy 60,000 new cars. Then came the tough part: finding someone to build them. Finally, he went to Oakville, Ont., and found Ford. — 36





Contrasts And Conflicts

In the growing Canadian debate over the future status of native lands and communities, there are few more powerful symbols of Ottawa's historical failure to deal constructively with the issue than the Ojibwa Garden River reserve in South St. Marie, Ont. The problems that the band faces are no worse than those that exist on many Canadian reserves. But as Associate Editor Paul Kishle discovered in reporting this week's cover story, Garden River Ojibwa face the added hell of a first hand across the St. Marys River in South St. Marie, Mich. The contrast between the social well-being and prosperity of the two groups is stark and telling.

In Michigan, the Ojibwa operate a profitable casino and associated functions, even though gambling is illegal in the state. The band is exempt from most state laws, they pay no taxes and they can buy and sell liquor and tobacco tax-free, giving a major advantage over their competitors. The tribe also has its own legal code, police force, conservation officers and courts. Only the most serious crimes are governed by federal law and tried in non-native courts. Unemployment has dropped to 15 per cent from 70 per cent a decade ago; the high school dropout rate has dropped to 55 per cent from more than 80.

On the Canadian side of the river, the Ojibwa live in sharp and depressing contrast, most of them unable to find jobs of any kind. The unemployment rate is 75 per cent. Unlike the situation in Michigan, there are no schools on the reserve: children attend classes in regular schools in the St. Marys, and the high school dropout rate is about 66 per cent. There is no court system or justice legal code; only the provincial and federal judicial systems apply.

Norway as Canada are drastically self-governance. As long as they model is based mostly on the American system, the rest of Canada should cut only concede to the demand, but do it with alacrity and enthusiasm.



Canada Editor Paul Lauer (left) with writers Mary Jennings and E. Roger Peltz (right).

Kevin Doyle

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TRIUMPH AT ALBERTVILLE

I was very proud, and I assume that every Canadian from coast to coast was proud, to see Olympic gold-medal winner Sierra Lee-Gordon on the cover of your Feb. 24 issue ("Canada's golden girl"). I also assumed that the four team members who won the Olympic gold in a 3,000-m speed skating relay race would receive similar treatment. Instead the team got only a few lines in your March 2 cover package, "Silver lining." Sylvie Daigle, Nikla de Lanteren, Angela Cretone and Anne Perreault are also Canada's golden girls.

Joseph Revell,
Barnston, Que.

As a long-time figure skating fan, I have often been both amazed and annoyed with sports-related news and editorials that become instant "segments" on the sports every four years when the Olympics come around. Caught at a loss as to having the good sense to choose Brian Orser to cover the skating competitions from the Albertville Games. You have done your readers a big favor by not subjecting them to yet another "segment" who does not merit expiring his presence of the sport. Madonna's bad hair, you deserve a gold medal.

David E. Davis,
Plymouth, Texas

In "Moment of truth" (Cover, Feb. 24), you are unfair to Kurt Browning. It may be true that Browning did not perform to his own expectations, but the disapproval of his "too colorful, out-of-place" look and "obnoxious dancing" seems utterly ridiculous. Being such in the world, after a long career and back problems, it is an accomplishment for a Canadian to be proud of "To Kurt and all the Canadian Olympians. We thank you."

Kathryn Chabrowski,
North Bay, Ont.

Anybody who still has doubts about the "two salaries" concept must be convinced to wait. After the well-reviewed Feb. 24 front page of *Newsweek*, Lee-Gordon winning the gold, we would have expected, not of a seven-page March 2 Olympic special, more than two full-page events about the athletes—all of them from Quebec—who won five of the silver in medals. Those champions at least deserved a photograph in line with that of Eric Lindeman.

Richard Baynes,
Pictou, N.S.

RADIO SILENCE

I read with interest "Charging the snowbirds" (Newsweek, Feb. 17), which said that Canadian news operations serving Florida have now reported an overall rise and high-



Daigle: one of Canada's 'golden girls'

time Canadian media enterprises in the state, but one mistake was made: the Canadian radio news network that serves every tourist region in Florida, serves only a week on 21 stations. The broadcasts from Canada continue the Canada Calling radio tradition launched by Dave Pines in 1948. The network, which I have

owned and operated for the past 18 years, dominates the Canadian presence in Florida. It has spread larger and more successfully than all other Canadian media ventures in the state combined. So daigle being put into the position of being not seen here, but your article left me with no other choice.

From Sarah
Canada Calling
Lakeland, Ont.

AN INCORRECT CONCLUSION

Your review of Don Broad and Sydney Sharp's book, *Stunning Badlyles: From Browning and the Rise of the Modern Party*, says, in part, a quote by quoted from which the reviewer concluded that I am now, or was a member of the Reform party ("Prospect of Reform," *Book*, March 2). This assumption is wrong and damaging to my reputation in Western Canada, people from many political parties are not prepared to make any more comments or avoid editorial conclusions to Quebec—not just Reformers.

Jessie N. Shook,
Edmonton

Letter may be continued. Please reply to me at 1010 St. Lawrence Avenue, Suite 100, Toronto, Ont. M5S 1A5. Tel: (416) 593-1111. Fax: (416) 593-1112.

PASSAGES

HOSPITALIZED: Former French prime minister Mitterrand, 75, after suffering a heart attack, doctors at a Tel Aviv hospital installed a pacemaker last week. Mitterrand signed his country's historic peace treaty with Egypt in 1979, and shared a Nobel Peace Prize with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, who was assassinated by fanatical Islamic fundamentalists in 1981. In 1992, Mitterrand ordered French's invasion of Lebanon. He retired from public life in 1993, and has never held his job as a teacher. Friends said that he has been depressed about the 1992 death of his wife of 43 years, Anne, and about high Israeli casualties in the Lebanon war, which ended with an Israeli withdrawal after three years.



DEAD: Mexican-American character actress Sandy Dennis, 54, of screen credits, at her home in Newport, Calif. In 1966, she won an Academy Award for best supporting actress in *Wanda*, the film version of Edward Albee's play about two university faculty couples who take part in an all-night drinking spree; it starred Richard Widmark and Elizabeth Taylor. Dennis also starred as a teacher in a tough New York City school in *Up the Down Staircase* in 1967.

DEPARTING: Former news anchor Betty Furness, 76, 16-year co-anchor of the popular CBS TV's *Today* show. In announcing that her contract will not be renewed, as she announced and the network had decided to change the style of its co-anchor news reporting. Furness and

her husband, George, had been in the "old" position on network television.

DEAD: Minor league baseball star, Alan Roth, 74, of a heart attack in a Los Angeles hospital. Roth was working for the Montreal Canadiens in 1947 when he was named *Brooklyn*. Despite president Benesh's best efforts, Roth could help his team play better. Roth had Roth, whose methods helped transform the entire game.

DEAD: American documentary photographer John Collier Jr., 78, after surgery to stop internal bleeding in hospital while on vacation in San Jose, Costa Rica. Collier gained a worldwide reputation for his work on projects for the U.S. News Service Administration during the Depression.

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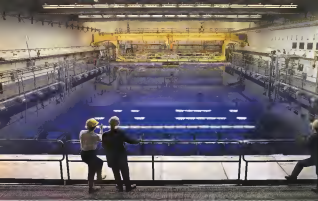
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LETTERS

MANUFACTURING CONSENT

Fromer heavyweight boxing champion Mike Tyson's aggressive attitude towards women ("I like to hurt women when I make love to them. I like to hear them scream with pain, to see their blood") is repulsive, in my best interest ("His word or best"). Come, Feb. 17. But it only suggests that "raped women" are a natural side effect of loving Mike Tyson-style. Their presence in his gutter does not constitute a proof of rape and more



Tyson: 'I like to hurt women'

than their absence would prove his innocence. In a legal system where clear evidence is often discredited on a mere technicality, to proceed with a case—and correct a suspect—is a lie, I believe, there was no clear evidence means only one thing is rape of the justice system has occurred.

*W. K. Kwan
Toronto*

The high percentage of women who fail to report rape cases is not difficult to understand. Women courageous enough to press charges are often treated as though they are in trouble, and the suspect is generally given benefits of the doubt because there are usually no witnesses. Why would women want to endure a double ordeal?

*Brookland Jones
London, Ont.*

BARRELY ACHIEVABLE

I could not help but notice the picture of Louis Pascal, Alexandre Manonville, a candidate in July's upcoming election ("All in the Political Family," People, Feb. 24). Could there be some logical explanation for perceiving his outstanding talents? Perhaps this is indicative of a new kind of coverage of politicians. I can hardly wait to read your coverage of the upcoming federal election down later. Will we get to see Brian Mulroney or Preston Manning wearing Speedos?

*Shawn Brown,
Oak River, Man.*

"NOPEC" RED-BASHING

Barbara Amos's diatribe against the Ontario NDP is another all too familiar example of Red-bashing by a misoproprietor oriented towards Eastern Canada ("The communist threat in Ontario's west," Column, Feb. 20). It is a biased and biased misrepresentation of a provincial government that she wishes to portray. I suggest that she take her eyes and computer console word, to Saskatchewan. We have overruled nine years of the worst kind of management imaginable while under the direction of her beloved Tories. This party of the self-proclaimed "business-friendly" right has wrecked havoc on the province. Conservatives threatening Ontario's Green on a break.

*Roy M. Finkel
Regina*

"JOY AND A DEEP PENCE"

Liberalism minister Stan Richards, who was fired after he told his constituents that he was not practicing homosexuality, says that "Colony" is supposed to be a person, it doesn't. It is depressing as it is degrading. I would recommend a suspension of sex, gay and lesbianism. ("Colony" Feb. 17). I used to agree with him of colony as regarded negatively as the absence of something, but for those who embrace it as a means of reaching God, colony can be a positive force. Though this demands struggle, it can lead to a finding of the heart God allows one to have when one truly. Then, one experiences joy and a deep peace.

*Sally Anne M. Stone,
Ottawa*

It is a just comment on humanity when one equates love with sex. It is normal for an individual to have feelings of love for members of both sexes but, by nature and for a Christian, sex is the natural result of love between a man and a wife. If a person is not a Christian, how they gratify their sexual urges is up to them.

But for a Christian, the Bible is clear that anything else is shameful. As far as I understand James 3:17, he really must agree with those basic beliefs—or leave the church. *Allen D. Winder
Pittsburgh, B.C.*

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MACEJAN S. / MARCH 16, 1992

OPENING NOTES

Mikhail Gorbachev counts his rubles, Caroline Mulroney gets candid, and Derek Burney breaks his silence

GRACE UNDER PRESSURE

Hans Gurtner, a co-host of the CBC TV newsmagazine *The 30th* anniversary, is a seasoned journalist. But her routine was severely tested on March 2, when she interviewed Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his wife, Mita, for a pilot episode of her new show, *Connect*, which aired on CBC TV on March 11. Gurtner said that she was in "severe discomfort" throughout the two-hour encounter. The reason: a virulent bout of "Mazzanini's rangers" which she had contracted in Mexico recently while chasing Hernandez drug smugglers for the 30th anniversary. Gurtner said that the Mulroneys were unaware of her condition—or of the fact that, only two days previously, she had climbed herself into the Toronto Hospital because she had turned "green" from pain. But she added that there was never any question in her mind that the interview, which took a month to arrange, should proceed as scheduled. Gurtner said: "I would repeat into going through with it." She added: "You could say that it was a clear case of mind over matter."

Gurtner's case of "mind over matter" with the Mulroneys



PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE

A caviar kind of hardship

Like last month, after Mikhail Gorbachev had complained publicly that he found it hard to make his way on his own in Canada, St. Patrick's newspaper announced a bumper-indeed lunch raise for him. It collected the noble equivalent of about 25 cents—enough to buy a slice of cheese. But there was no sign of hardship last week when the record holder of the Green, Soviet Union, landed a crowded Moscow newspaper luncheon at the Gorbachev Foundation, a think-tank headed by his son, recently newspaper columnist. In all, 174 newspapers are buying the column from the Cuban daily *La Sombra de Taro*, which sells it in Europe, and *The New York Times*, which syndicates it elsewhere. *The Toronto Star*, for one, pays \$430 a column. At that rate, even if Gorbachev

chases his newspaper only half the total take, that is about \$36,000 a month—a sum quite decent, even if it is meagre, when he served his guests not only caviar, but also wine, caviar and other tasty fare.



PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE

Gorbachev: bumper sales and a piece of poverty

THE JET-SET MINISTER

During his eight years in cabinet, Defence Minister Marcel Massé has earned a reputation as a frequent flyer. But his numerous world travels have been the butt of many a ribbing in Ottawa, even inside the Tory caucus. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was joking recently about an encounter with Askar Akopov, head of Kazakhstan, a former Soviet republic. Mulroney said: "And I met the president of Kazakhstan. . . . Who in the hell knows where this place is anyway?" A voice from the back of the caucus piped in helpfully: "Ask Massé!"

The end of a Nixon era

It was a Canadian record: 22 consecutive election wins by father and son. But at a by-election in the Ontario riding of Brant/Haldimand last week, there was no Nixon on the ballot for the first time in 73 years. The run began with the 1919 election of Harry Nixon, who was Liberal prime minister briefly in 1942. Son Robert succeeded him in 1952, led his party (1967-1970) and was provincial treasurer (1980-1983). Now Ontario's *agritourist* in London, he said that his four children all considered running—but declined. However, he added that he took some comfort in the outcome: Ronald Eddy, a Liberal, was the next choice.

CANDIDLY, ALL IN THE FAMILY

A publicity blurb for a new biography of Mita Mulroney, to be published in May by Macmillan Canada, declares that the Prime Minister's wife "brings glamour, youth and vivacity to her position." It promises that the book will tell how Mulroney handles her "fabled lifestyle" and will explore the truth of "the rumors about her spending and her marriage." The book, which will retail for \$17.95, was authored by its subject, who requested with author Sally Armstrong, the author of *Housewife's Magazine*. But a truly candid portrait of Mulroney, about a younger and pregnant Mita, happens to be on the book's jacket: it is a photo snapped by Caroline Mulroney. That came about after Toronto photographer James Allen had set up his equipment to photograph Mita in an Ottawa studio in 1985. During a break in the shoot, a kitchening Caroline, then 11, picked up Allen's camera and fired off a frame of her mother while Mita was resting her chin on her folded hands and grinning at amusement at the action of her only daughter, the eldest of her four children. A cutie on the book jacket fully credits Caroline Mulroney for the cover image, but Allen does get a mention for his snap.



CAROLINE MULRONEY

Caroline: a credit



Mita: 'glamour, youth and vivacity'

RUE ST. JACQUES TO BAY STREET: BUTT OUT

Toronto-based financial adviser Raymond Aaron upset leaders of Montreal's business community so much that the Quebec securities commission ordered him to cease acting as an investment counsellor in the province. But Aaron carried on with his schedule of seminars, urging the transfer of assets out of the province because of the securities threat. In a *Montreal* interview, *Montreal* Chamber of Commerce president Jean Guillebert denounced Aaron's message as "unethical" and "demagogic." He added: "The chamber may be kicking its head in the sand, but it's obvious from the number of people who want to listen to my advice that there are plenty of other Quebecers who are worried about the future."

Splashing mud

Democrat Paul Tsongas's recent frontal assault on Canada's health-care system has infuriated Derek Burney,



PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE

Burney: angry bystander

Canada's ambassador in Washington. Burney, who had previously spoken out on the issue, vowed to refrain from public comment after it became a political football in the U.S. presidential race. But just how he told Maclean's: "His innocent bystander in what is an internal U.S. debate, we don't appreciate being splashed by the mud of unsubstantiated charges."

Sinking a myth

Stanley Lord, a name long associated with the tragedy of the Titanic, has been cleared. Lord was the captain of the *Californian*, an ocean liner that was near the ship when it sank in the North Atlantic on April 14, 1912, drowning 1,503 people. A subsequent inquiry held that Lord should have responded to the Titanic distress alarm and raced to her rescue. In a result, Lord, who died in the 1950s, became a scapegoat in the disaster. His only son, also Stanley, has sworn to clear his father's name. Now, the findings of a new British inquiry, to be released on the eve of the tragedy's 50th anniversary, confirm Lord's assertion that his ship was about 20 miles away from the Titanic—not just 10, as originally thought. Lord Lord Perkinson, the former British transportation secretary who authorized the investigation, said: "This was a tremendous day, he was vilified."

The Titanic: wreckage in North Atlantic



PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE

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ANOTHER VIEW



'Don't blame us,' our leaders say

BY CHARLES GORDON

A new crisis erupts every day and the old crises stay around as well. We look to our leaders for help and find our leaders looking back at us, not very encouraging. "What is wrong," we say. "We thought you were raising the country."

"Don't blame us," our leaders reply, adding, "And please don't sue."

It is a retreat from leadership, and it is the dominant political fact of our age. In Canada, you can blame a lot of it on the Conservatives, because they happen to be the government, but other parties are showing indications that, given the opportunity, they can run away from the exercise of power just as fast.

The federal budget and the constitutional crisis bring such thoughts to mind. Both have shown that the federal government wants, at all costs, to avoid governing. In the budget, the government takes no new actions, leaves no new taxes and dismantles itself, through the elimination of boards and agencies, with no restraining hands. All the while, the Conservatives applied themselves for the things they are not doing.

Sometime soon time, somewhere, will end the recession, and when that happens we will thank the Tories for the money they have saved. That is how little reasoning goes. The alternative, expected by the government, is to spend money on job creation, and that might involve taking a risk at some time.

The avoidance of risk is the main characteristic of the government's strategy on the Constitution. In the days when governments no longer governed, a government might have regarded the Constitution as a challenge, been excited at the thought of trying to solve it, even looked forward to a struggle with its opponents. On fact, many of us can remember a government that like that.

That no longer. The government will attempt nothing of its own for fear of offending a group.

Charles Gordon is in conversation with The Ottawa Citizen.

People are afraid of being criticized by the forces of disapproval and sued by the forces of litigation, so they do nothing at all

or a province, or a group of provinces. It appears, then, ladies behind, the Spicer commission, then a parliamentary committee, then a positive series of conferences.

A lot of time and brain cells could have been saved had the government simply come up with a position and said, "Here it is, how do you like it?" Eventually, it will have to do that anyway—although it would not be surprising to see it simply by the Beaudin-Dobson committee report on the federal-provincial table and say "This isn't really our fault."

The trouble with taking a position on the Constitution is the same as the trouble with taking action on the economy: the position can be identified, and its authors can be held accountable for it. Political parties, these days, do not risk that prospect. And that includes the federal opposition parties, which have invoked a species concept of unity as an excuse for not opposing in a forthright way. Since both the New Democrats and Liberals have not said for Beaudin-Dobson's gutsy sale of federal power, it appears that neither opposition party cares what there is much power left should it form the next government. Having powers would only mean having to do something with them.

The flight from power is not a pretty sight, but it may be part of a larger trend in our society: the flight from action. It is not easy to see why. The forces of disapproval stand ready to punish the incorrect; the forces of litigation stand ready to punish the incorrect. People are afraid of being criticized and they are afraid of being sued. So they do nothing at all. In Ottawa recently, some high-school students decided to fight what they perceived as a growing racism in their school that was leading to violence. They formed a group called Teens Against Racism and distributed pamphlets saying, in part, "Until the philosophy which holds one race superior and the other inferior is finally and permanently discredited and abandoned... there will always be a war." According to news reports, the students were asked to stop distributing the leaflets, apparently because it is against school board policy to post anything in schools without permission.

If there is anything encouraging here it is that ordinary Canadians will still try to tackle social problems on their own, even if the authorities think better of it. That theme of individual initiative and humanitarian cold feet is illustrated in another news story published the same day. This one concerns an Ottawa-area feminist league that bought a 30-second television commercial to promote Canadian unity. "Now is the time to eliminate all those things which divide but rather those things which unite us," the commercial said, before it was pulled by law lawyers, who said it violated civil rights agency messages that "advocate a point of view or course of action as a public issue."

The legislatively minded among us will point out that such rules have virtues, that they prevent certain excesses. And that is true. It is also true that people are hiding behind a lot of rules in our present age of regulation, particularly those rules relating to advocating points of view and courses of action.

In a recent article in *The New Yorker*, the American author Roger Angell writes about his father and the battles for social justice he fought in the 1930s and 1940s. "The cause was always heroic and fresh thrusts to freedom immediate," Angell writes, "but every problem was capable of solution somewhere down the line. We didn't hold such ideas anymore—about our freedoms or about anything else."

It is no wonder that the Canadian Conservatives do not believe in government as an instrument to solve problems and help create a better world. If the free market cannot bring about a better world, then we will simply have to do without it. Eight years of the Tories in Canada, coupled with a decade of Reaganism in the United States, have convinced by a decade of Thatcherism in Britain, have forced people against government, partly because that is the Mulroney-Thatcher-Reagan philosophy, and partly because the government they provided was so bad. The danger we are seeing now is that of apathetic politicians and voluntary citizens who are not willing to take action. When that happens, what we get is what we see: a deficit, an electorate and a flight from leadership.

GROWN-UPS' CHOICE

**OTTAWA'S DECISION
TO ABANDON ITS
DAY CARE PROGRAM
MAY BE A CASE OF
FISCAL RESTRAINT
FORCING ITS HAND**

They are the innocent victims of poverty: children who are abused and neglected, homeless and hungry, away seeking their bodies and hearts from drugs and crime in a nation's richest economy. The scope of the problem is underscored by a recent Statistics Canada study showing that more than one million Canadian children—out of a six-and-a-half million in poverty. For months, the Conservative government's internal polls and other national surveys had indicated that Canadians wanted action on the issue of child poverty. Ottawa responded on Feb. 20, when Finance Minister Donald Macdonald announced in his budget that the government would attack the problem by restructuring its existing child benefit programs—ensuring that funds are directed to the most needy children. But the new program comes at a steep price. According to Health and Welfare Minister Brent Steward, the Ministry government has abandoned its longstanding undertaking to provide at least \$2 billion for a national universally accessible day care program. Steward claims that the government could have opted to cut children as depressed or lead day care—but not both. Still the choice, "I had to make a choice."

But that choice may have more to do with the government's cash-strapped financial situation than matters of justice. Under the Tory plan, beginning next January, family allowance benefits—Canada's oldest universal social program—will be slashed and replaced by a state-backed parental support program. As a result, low-income working families will receive a maximum of \$500 a year more than under the existing system (according to Macdonald, the program will cost an additional \$600 million next year). Many child-welfare workers applauded the increased attention to poor families, but the government's move away from its commitment to day care left



Children at a Halifax day care centre: critics say that the Tories loaded the dice.

attracted advocates questioning Ottawa's priorities. Barbara Kelland, executive director of the Ottawa-based Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association, says that Steward's trade-off was unacceptable. She adds that at least one million more day care spaces are needed in addition to the 300,000 existing spaces in licensed facilities. Complaints Kelland: "It's as if a child comes to you with a scallop and a broken arm and we say, 'We'll care the scallop, but we'll just leave the arm.'"

Steward's announcement marked the end of almost eight years of Tory flirtation with day care. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney first raised the hopes of advocates during the 1984 election campaign when he undertook to set up a day care task force. The Tories subsequently proposed a \$2.4-billion day care program, but

the legislation lapsed with the 1986 election tide—and the Tories, citing the need to control government spending, did not revive it after winning their second mandate. Still, as recently as September, Steward declared that, "the commitment about children is still there." Says Mary Clancy, the Liberal critic for women's issues: "Does the government load out what a national day care program would cost, the decision was made in advance. They've just been waiting for the least worst time to tell us."

Indeed, the Tories spent months laying the groundwork for Steward's announcement. In an apparent effort to minimize the anticipated public backlash against Ottawa's decision to scrap its day care promise, the government commissioned a survey in August by Toronto-based Decima Research, the Tory party's in-

ternal polling company. The 1,390 Canadians who were interviewed for the survey were asked to rank six child-related issues in order of importance. The result: day care finished last behind, in order of priority, physical and sexual abuse of children, child poverty, children's health, the needs of disabled children and living conditions of native children. Respondents were also asked if the government should fund its day care promise or address other children's problems—to other choices were offered.

Black also took aim at the government's new program to help poorer children, saying that the funds would be insufficient. She added that the Tory plan was "a move back at times—a Victorian principle of targeting the worthy needy." Other critics also questioned the efficacy of the government's new program. Claudia Brindley, who runs a day care program and food bank for low-income families in Montreal, N.B., noted that a monthly cash payment to parents is no way guarantee that children will benefit. "You're still going to have families who aren't going to pass on that money to their children," she said.

But the government is clearly committed to its new program. In a speech at a Vancouver conference about children a week before Macdonald's budget, Steward declared: "In this time of plenty there are nearly six million young Canadians living in poverty. That can't be acceptable to Canadians. That isn't acceptable to my government." And since then, Steward has repeatedly undertaken to launch an "action plan" to "re-profile existing resources and allocate significant new ones" towards child welfare within weeks. That plan will go beyond the budgetary measures, says Sarah Babin, a special assistant to Steward. But, she added, the new package without decide any measures to enhance day care facilities.

That development will likely dishearten day care advocates and workers, who have spent eight years for the Tories to build their campaign legacy. Still, Steward's Whitehouse "For us, no change in bad news for both day care advocates and parents in Nova Scotia."

Whitehouse acknowledged that there is a growing need to help children at risk. But she asked: "Why are they putting the needs of child care against school children?" For her part, the Liberals' critics accused the Conservatives of shortchanging them. "Of course children are subject to harm," she said. "But the government hasn't been able to do so on a separate level." They say that the whole thing is interconnected. Parents still have children and they still have to place to put them. "Clearly, the government's strategy of giving with one hand while holding back with the other will not lay to rest the demands for improvements on the day care front."

Still, some critics question the validity of the Tory surveys. For one thing, they point out

that the Decima poll based questions about government spending priorities to children's issues—without identifying other areas of government funding that might be viewed as less important than day care. Still, Steward's latest statement of seven children's day care centres: "They didn't ask if we should reduce spending on defence or spend less on reducing the deficit. What they asked was, should they spend on day care or child abuse—that was the choice." In the eyes of many, that was no choice at all. "You're not asking for anything," Black. "Who would not respond by saying children at risk would come first? They have misinterpreted the poll as a way that will ensure the outcome they wanted."

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GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

National Notes

TESTIMONY OF A JUDGE

David Miguird's former lawyer testified that Miguird maintained his innocence throughout his trial for the 1989 murder of a Saskatoon nurse. But Calvin Tait, now a Saskatchewan Court of Appeal judge, told a Superior Court of Canada justice that whether Miguird's conviction represents a miscarriage of justice that he advised him against testifying because much of Miguird's story "could be removed" as confirming evidence that helped convict him.

LEADERLESS LIBERALS

Three days after vowing to return his job, Vince MacLean resigned as leader of the Nova Scotia Liberal party. MacLean, 47, had been under pressure from several caucus members to resign after his leadership was narrowly defeated at the party's annual meeting. There are no obvious reasons to lead the party into the next provincial election, widely expected in the fall.

DIABETIC DIABETES

Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells and Nova Scotia Premier Donald Cameron said that Canada should use the navy to protect Atlantic Canada's wharves and stocks of explosive shells and fuel and foreign vessels off the Grand Banks. But Prime Minister Brian Mulroney ruled out using the navy, saying that "there are limits to goshawk diplomacy."

A VOTE FOR REFORM

The results of a provincial by-election in the western Alberta riding of Lethbridge demonstrated the growing political strength of the federal Reform party. Conservative candidates and federal Reform party member Barry McFarland, 43, defeated his nearest rival, Liberal candidate and Reform Minister Dennis Gauthier, 46, by a margin of 1,967 to 1,705 votes. Three of the other four candidates also chose the Reform ticket.

A CROSS-BORDER ARGUMENT

Manitoba's Attorney General Pat Tangen, a former child-care officer who is serving the U.S. presidency, provoked a sharp response from the Ontario Cancer Institute after he denounced Canadian evidence, claiming both that it stifles innovation and that he might be dead if he had sought care in Canada. A spokesman for the Toronto centre said that Tangen's treatment of bone-marrow transplants at Boston was made possible by research conducted at the institute, adding that Canadians receive such treatment "regardless of their ability to pay."

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THE CONCEPT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT REMAINS A MINEFIELD OF PROBLEMS

offences. Still, there are limits on Indian power: Indian governments and tribal courts could step in on Indian civil rights only, established by Congress in 1968, that guarantees equal protection before the law, the right to a lawyer and freedom of speech and religion.

Even with those limits, the concept of self-government remains a minefield of questions and challenges.

Land: Natives with existing land claims want Ottawa to transfer to their reserves or communities specific powers—leaving them the right to develop resources, but that creates complications. The Dene nation in Saskatchewan, for one, is locked in a dispute with the federal over their land settlement with Ottawa. The Dene claim that the land, known as *Nanawetuk*, overlaps their ancestral hunting grounds. As a result, they refuse to recognize the land boundaries. Similar disputes exist across the country. That prompts a serious dilemma: should native communities assume self-government before the theory of their boundaries—and the ownership of resources—is settled?

Indian self-government: The idea of an Ottawa is perhaps the most difficult issue to



Githwax family in Northern Ontario: a cycle of welfare dependency

resolve with self-government. At the core of the problem is which level of government—and native organizations—are responsible for the hundreds of thousands of Indians scattered across the country without a land base. In Metro Toronto alone, there are an estimated 65,000 natives from nearly 60 U.S. and Canadian bands. Rodney Bolleson, the urban self-government coordinator for Toronto's Native Canadian Centre, told *McGraw-Hill* that urban

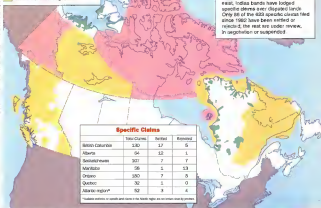
Indians need their own representatives at the constitutional table—and that own governing entity. Bolleson's demands include a House of Commons seat for Toronto's natives, a land base for Indians on Toronto Island or in the expensive downtown core, full application of native rights so that natives have a say in their own streets, and full tax-exempt status. Those demands are certain to fuel controversy and anger among Canadians.

The justice system: Native leaders have demanded the right to craft their own code of law, reflecting native needs. But such a document might override the Criminal Code, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms or provincial codes that govern worker safety, the regulation of the environment and labor relations. There are precedents: some provinces have recognized that the existing justice system can do little to rehabilitate native offenders without the involvement of native communities. As a result, the Alberta government has worked with the Blood band of southern Alberta to establish a native-run police force and a minimum-security prison.

Still, many Canadians reject the proposals that individual bands should be allowed arbitrarily to select their own laws, creating a patchwork of zones across Canada in which different rules would apply. And some native women have launched a roof campaign to protest the supremacy of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms—contrary to suggestions by a

Status Of Comprehensive Claims:

- Claims settled under treaty agreements
- Claims settled, but not fully settled
- Claims still under negotiation



CLAIMING BACK CANADA

Ontario has agreed to negotiate 35 comprehensive claims with native groups whose traditional lands are not covered by treaties. Where treaties do exist, Indian bands have lodged specific claims over disputed lands. Only 16 of the 352 specific claims filed since 1962 have been settled or rejected; the rest are under review. In negotiation or suspended.

UNDER FIRE FROM ALL SIDES

Only seven hours after the Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark's two public appearances in Montreal last week, he is under attack. He is being attacked by the Quebec Liberal government, by the Quebec Conservative government, by the Quebec Liberal government, by the Quebec Conservative government, by the Quebec Liberal government, by the Quebec Conservative government.

The last offer that Quebec has received since Confederation. But his comments evoked drastically different reactions from his supporters and his opponents alike. Those differences underscored the challenges that the Conservative government faces in pursuing the federal constitutional offer that it hopes to make public next month.

At a midday meeting of the pro-federalist, English-speaking advisory group Alliance Quebec, Clark encountered criticism of the committee's proposal to shift a wide

range of federal powers to the provinces—including responsibility for linguistic minorities. But in a discussion meeting with a francophone group in the strongly nationalist municipality of Ville-Émery, in the region's east end, Clark addressed a deeply contentious concern: that the DeLoeb-Besseau proposals will be short of Quebec's demands. Referring to the failed Meech Lake constitutional accord, which Quebec's Liberal government had recently accepted, Clark declared: "This goes beyond that in every respect."

Despite Clark's defense, the DeLoeb-Besseau report drew fire last week from government leaders in Quebec and at least five other provinces. While Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa said that the proposal was insufficient for his province, other premiers—including Newfoundland's Clyde Wells and Alberta's Donald Getty—claimed that it offered Quebec too much power, including a unilateral veto over future constitutional changes. Native leaders and multicultural groups also criticized aspects of the report.

Like Clark, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney insisted that he was not dissatisfied by these emotions. Indeed, federal officials say that they still hope to persuade the province to accept a commitment to return for a commitment by Newfoundland and the three Prairie provinces to support Quebec's demand for a constitutional veto. Another potential indicator of compromise was a muted suggestion by Quebec officials that Bourassa may be prepared to accept a list of demands in the current round in exchange for a promise to discuss the remaining issues at a future date—by which time, presumably, Quebec would have the right to veto any proposal that it did not like. If the province does withdraw its list of demands in the current round, the Tories would suffer if tribal councils or bands had control over health and social programs. Ottawa counters that natives must accept the additional responsibilities of self-government along with its benefits. As a result, health and social programs are certain to be on the constitutional bargaining table.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Montreal

native-dominated native leadership that natives should write their own charter and perhaps their own constitution. Said Wayne Gervais, the president of the Indigenous Women's Collective of Montreal: "My support here is that native women are not going to have any rights whatsoever. They will be controlled by the male powers in the native hierarchy."

Health and welfare: Many native communities are racked by chronic unemployment, a personal cycle of welfare dependency and a staggering array of emotional and physical problems. Indeed, Ottawa's spending on health care on native health and welfare is as it does on native economic development programs. \$813 million compared with \$102 million in 1991-1993. Those who support local economic development see that spending as a powerful tool to improve native culture. But some native leaders maintain that the quality and range of services would suffer if tribal councils or bands had control over health and social programs. Ottawa counters that natives must accept the additional responsibilities of self-government along with its benefits. As a result, health and social programs are certain to be on the constitutional bargaining table.

Revenue: Native leaders argue that surrendering the right to self-government to the Constitution leaves little income to natives. The money to implement it. Collectively, natives own one land that is not part of Canada's land. Because they can't take title to their lands, they can't use them. They are unable to mortgage their property to raise back financing for economic development. Said Merril: "Land rights are part of the answer to the question of why will pay for Indian self-government. Land is the basis of wealth in Canada."

Along with their ownership of their land, most natives want the right to generate income on that land. Under existing laws, they do not have to pay income tax as long as they live and work on the reserve. Nor can the nation level of government assess taxes on land property on a reserve. With self-government, natives want the right to tax their own people to pay for their own government. They also want to establish their own tax rules in order to attract business to reserves. As well, Merril says that native groups want to establish a fish marketing corporation to find international markets for the native's salmon. He says that corporations would negotiate a share

prices, it would compete with provincial and federal governments in international markets.

Still, native leaders concede that there will be a gap between the money they generate and the cost of the services they provide. To cover the shortfall, they want the government to provide transfer payments, at the same way that it now distributes money among poorer provinces. There is no reliable estimate of the additional costs of self-government.

For others, many of the benefits of self-government are clear. After centuries of repression, Canada's Indians, Inuit and Métis appear determined to regain their pride and right to self-determination. Said Manisho's son, Eliah Harper: "The land and its resources do not belong to any one person; they should belong to everyone. We are not different from anyone else. We want to have a good life and a good home." Those are basic and defensible desires. But they entail a massive shift in the course of the country. And they will inevitably test the tolerance and understanding of Canadians during one of the nation's most recent years.

BY KATE PILTON in Ottawa

A TALE OF TWO SITES

U.S. AND CANADIAN NATIVES ARE WORLDS APART

At the time of their first encounter with European explorers in the early 17th century, the Ojibwa—or Chippewa—Indians of the upper Great Lakes occupied a territory almost as large as New Jersey. The prairie-like center of the Ojibwa world—home to as many as 33,000 Indians—was the mouth of the St. Marys River, a 75-mile-long channel through which Lake Superior drains into Lake Huron. But the Ojibwa were split in two when Canada and the United States drew their border along the river, which is now divided by the dark cities of Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., and Sault Ste. Marie, Mich. Separately, the divided halves of the Ojibwa have evolved under radically different systems: U.S. constitutional law recognizes the Michigan Ojibwa—and all native American tribes—as dependent sovereign nations with the right to limited self-government; the Canadian tribes such as the Ojibwa do not enjoy similar rights, instead, they are closely administered by Ottawa under a jurisdiction of last resort. *ENR* Magazine's Assistant Editor Paul Kunkle visited the Ojibwa on both sides of the river to compare their lives. His report

I'm only smiling at Vegas Nevada, but hard-drinking ones in steel-toed boots and jeans are already laying down bets. They're in chains dug in their ears as dozens of slot machines spin out hot berry one-dollar tickets in rapid-fire periods. The casino is the center of the commercial empire of the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of the Chippewa Indians on the Michigan side of St. Marys River. The 85-chip casino complex houses 250 slot machines, 30 blackjack tables and keno and roulette games. More than a million customers from Canada, Michigan and other states have visited the casino since it opened in 1985—and it now generates more than \$1.2 million a year

for the tribe. Bonnie McKenchie, the 43-year-old band member who oversees the operation, "We're on a roll."

Although gambling is forbidden under Michigan state law, the 6,000-member band operates the casino with impunity because it is exempt from state legislation. The band is also not required to pay state taxes, enabling it, among other things, to buy—and sell—liquor more cheaply than non-native competitors in Sault Ste. Marie. The tribe has its own 16-member police force, as well as eight conservation officers who enforce tribal regulations on freshwater fishing and fishing grounds across Michigan's upper peninsula. Band members who violate the reservation's legal code, which closely parallels Michigan's state statutes, are brought before tribe-appointed judges. (The most common penalty is community service work.) Only serious crimes, such as murder, kidnapping, rape and arson, are governed by federal law—and tried in a state court.

The Chippewas' autonomy has helped them pin one wealth. Before 1975, the band had no control at all and because it had never signed a treaty with Washington. Since then, it has purchased a total of 814 acres scattered throughout the Sault area, using U.S. government subsidies and, more recently, casino-generated profits. The Chippewas have mobilized their growing assets to launch a wide array of community-run businesses. In addition to Vegas Nevada—Ojibwa lingo for "Vegas of the North"—the band operates a casino and hotel in nearby St. Ignace, Mich. a 43-room motel in Sault Ste. Marie, a general store, a native arts-and-crafts shop, an industrial cleaning firm and a construction company. The Chippewas have also built about 300 nonprofit rental units, many of these structures buildings equipped with roof-mounted solar energy

panels. Band head member Lori June, a social work official who lived at one of the houses the first years before buying her own house just off the reservation. "The best housing industry is very quiet. You're not allowed to live with in your yard. And if you don't cut your lawn, they'll take it for you—and slash you with the law."

For the most part, band members accept these restrictions as being necessary for the casino good. The profits from the band's enterprises, which provide jobs for roughly 660 tribal members, are used to fund about 50 separate programs in the areas of health, job training, education and housing. With these resources, the band has reduced its unemployment rate in the Sault area to 35 per cent from about 70 per cent a decade ago. In the same period, the high-school dropout rate among band members has fallen to 25 per cent from more than 90 per cent.

Despite these successes, some band leaders insist that the tribe still depends too heavily on Washington, which provides about 40 per cent of its \$5.5-million annual budget. Band head research lead planning director

Dwight (Barker) Treple, "Any kind of reliance on outside funding is not self-government. We must become self-sufficient."

To meet that goal, the Chippewas are expanding their commercial interests. Next to the Vegas Nevada casino, a 35-room hotel and restaurant complex—featuring luxury suites with whirlpools—is nearing completion. The band is also planning to build a small, intimate ports facility in the region that the biggest of new venture involves a major housing project. Last year, tribal leaders obtained bank financing to buy 200 acres of a nearby decayed U.S. Air Force base for \$3.5 million. Later this year, band leaders plan to receive 500 acres of housing on the property to provide additional homes for members of the tribe. Dwight Treple, 40, "The key is to be successful as business."



Swimming on the banks of St. Marys River for most area residents, there are no jobs.

Less than five miles from Vegas Nevada, on the Canadian side of St. Marys River, the Michigan band's poor cousins submit the Garden River First Nation Reserve. As recently as the 1950s, the Garden River Ojibwa could cross the frozen river on a wooden plank or on foot to purchase supplies from U.S. stores that the river no longer breaks over—partly a result, the natives say, of toxic effluent from logging industry in neighboring Red Ste. Marie. But another challenge faced by the 1,600 natives who live on the 35,000-acre reserve is finding work. Band member Phil Perreault, 42, who keeps his fingers plucked with money sent from hunting trips he takes with his Remington rifle says that he earns about \$1,000 a year doing seasonal work as a logger and elsewhere. "But for most, there's no job." Perreault, a three-decades father of four children, and he co-lead a group of about 100 in the cramped two-bedroom house that he shares with his mother.

In fact, unemployment in Garden River has reached 75 per cent. The band also suffers from the same social problems that are common to tribes across Canada. According to Charles (Bibi) Williams, the area's MP and the provincial minister of native affairs, the high-school dropout rate among Garden River residents is about twice the national average of 38 per cent.

At the same time, police records indicate that there were close to 180 criminal cases in Garden River last year. That is more than twice the number of cases recorded among the 2,500 residents of the main Chippewa reservation in Sault Ste. Marie, Mich. And in contrast to the Ojibwa neighborhoods on the U.S. side of the river, none of the houses in

Garden River are well insulated and surrounded by the rising banks of abandoned ones. Sault Ste. Marie's McKenchie, who has dozens of relatives living on the Canadian shores, "They have nothing. They're bare, left back."

The great 30-year-old chief of the Garden River band, David Bosompra, acknowledges that his tribe has fallen behind its American counterpart—and he blames the federal Indian Act. The bill, which took effect in 1876, made Indians western Ojibwa—with reserves subject to provincial and federal laws. Bosompra complains that the statute has prevented his band from developing its own institutions. Garden River children attend public schools in Sault Ste. Marie. And even the most minor criminal cases involving natives are tried in Bosompra's words, in "white man's court."

The only year-round business that has thrived since a shopping mall, where the largest shop is a \$4,500. But because almost all of the persons are band members, the enterprise largely lacks new money into the community. The most significant hurdle to economic development, Bosompra says, is the federal prohibition on the use of reserve lands as collateral for loans—a rule opposed by U.S. tribes that insist that lands, including the ones, which were a warrior's sole leader. "We're sitting on millions of dollars of real estate and we can't use it to access financial institutions."

According to Bosompra, a constitutional recognition of natives' inherent right to self-government would help to remove such obstacles. And the success of the tribe across the river may be a clear reminder of what new powers could mean to the residents of Garden River. Bosompra says that members of his band want the right to regulate hunting, fishing and logging on reserve lands—and to collect royalties from the sale of licenses to non-natives. He adds that self-government could lead to the creation of community-owned businesses, health care and educational programs, and the establishment of a court system, such as traditional native practices.

Without the means to generate significant revenues, the band is negotiating with the Ontario government to obtain money for new enterprises. For one thing, the Ojibwa hope to use financial compensation from the province in a complex land claim case dating back to 1868. And after 18 years of negotiations with the Ontario government, the band is now in a position to open a 100-acre parcel of land just beyond the Trans-Canada Highway around Sault Ste. Marie that would cut through reserve lands.

Band leaders have asked the ministry to buy the required ground from a quarry on the reserve—and to grant construction and maintenance contracts for the new highway to band members. Some members say that the new Trans-Canada route could spawn a variety of tribal businesses, such as a roadside hotel, restaurant, gas station and nature club shop.

For now, though, Garden River residents are busy making smaller improvements. Scores of band members have received \$25,000 federal grants to build new homes—replacing the reserve's deteriorating housing stock. And last month, the Ontario government pledged \$100,000 towards the construction of a reserve health centre that will build modern medical practices with traditional native healing arts. But with their consent on the other side of the river, disheartening that they are increasingly the masters of their own fate, the people of Garden River are also planning for a time when they, too, can learn to take charge of their own affairs. □



McKenchie profits from the band's enterprises are used to fund social programs.



Chief Paul Seft with RCMP Const. Doner exercising municipal-style powers

BREAKING OUT OF THE MOULD

A B.C. BAND ENJOYS SELF-GOVERNMENT

The gray suburbs of Vancouver is hardly penitentiary through the light cars and semi-trucks. George Street. Dunes of dunes fall in the calm waters behind a makeshift dike 50 feet from shore, a slope's throw from where Sechelt Indian Band Chief Thomas Paul stands on a pile of sand and tree stumps. But as he surveys the landscape, Paul avoids dwelling on the ways that the last treaty, a lumber company, left behind on the 11-acre patch of band-owned land 45 kilometers north of Vancouver Island, the 45-year-old Sechelt chief is looking to the future. "This is an ideal place for a summer—anyway in a 14-mile stretch of the strait without a place to put in during a storm," he says. "Behind a large marina, back on the edge of the tree line, we'd like to see a hotel complex. We're looking for joint venture partners." Unlike many other Indian reserves in Canada, Paul can contemplate future work for his band's land without worrying about the likely reactions of bureaucrats from the department of Indian Affairs. As a result of a 1986 self-government agreement between the Sechelt Indians and

the federal government, the West Coast band is effectively exempt from the restrictions of the Indian Act.

The result of more than 15 years of negotiations, the Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act transferred municipal-style powers to the band. The agreement granted band members ownership over their original 15-acre—13 individual parcels of land totaling 2,532 acres. The band now has the right to mortgage its land, rent all or part of it to tenants, sell it and collect taxes—or purchase additional properties. A five-member elected council administers the band-owned lands and regulates the activities of native and non-native businesses that operate there. (Believed Paul, "Under self-government, we are able to make some economic decisions.")

Autonomy: That sense of autonomy is key to the success of the Sechelt agreement. Among the band's holdings are 500 acres of shoreline and commercial property in the predominantly non-native community of Sechelt (population 4,180). Working with an island hotel of about 100,000, the band has also created a

number of local ventures, including Tree Ave, a local computer center with eight places, Bay View, a suburban site of 35 homes; a salmon hatchery, and a lucrative royalty arrangement with a gravel company that operates on Indian lands. Declined Paul, "We have access to more funds—we are able to hold them in our own bank accounts, to borrow and lend money and to direct revenues to stretch our culture."

The chief and the four other band council members meet weekly to discuss business, land-use issues and potential investments. Those meetings are held in the band's new \$100,000 headquarters in Sechelt, known to the Indians as the House of Hl'watha—a Sechelt word that means "council." The handsome red-cedar-and-concrete structure also houses a theatre, a gift shop, a Canada Employment office and the Sechelt museum. Nearby, the band has built a small satellite campus of Vancouver's Capilano Community College. A 40-first-year program, open to citizens and non-citizens, will begin in September.

Realities: The Sechelt band's non-native neighbors say that the 1986 agreement has renewed much of the bad tape that existed when Ottawa administered the band's lands. "When I came here in 1975, Indian Affairs was running the show," says Colin McNeary, who owns a deli and convenience store next to the band's headquarters. Now, McNeary, a one of five members of an advisory committee elected to three-year terms by all native and non-native voters living on band-owned lands. The committee advises the chief and is involved in a wide range of local matters, including road and sewer maintenance and garbage collection. Adds McNeary, "It used to take years to get the final results on things. But since the last day of self-government, if you have a problem or need an answer, you just make an appointment. In two or three weeks it gets done."

Still, the Sechelt model of self-government falls well short of the demands of many native leaders. Saul Terry, president of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, for one, criticizes the Sechelt band for adapting what he calls a "watered-down" form of government, rather than holding out for broader powers such as an independent court system and police force. Currently, the 475 band members are policed by RCMP Const. Carl Dixon, who is a Sechelt Indian. For his part, Paul insists that the critics underestimate the achievements of his people. He adds that unemployment, school dropout rates and crime rates among band members have fallen since the 1986 agreement was signed. "They say we have given up some of our rights, but we really haven't," Paul insists. "We have not weakened ourselves. We are getting stronger." For Paul and other members of the Sechelt band, that claim is justification for their decision

BY AL GUTEN is Sechelt

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LONELY CRIES OF DISTRUST

ANGER AND PAIN FUEL NATIVE CLAIMS

In the eyes of Canada's political and religious leaders, it was done as much deeds as words—these for the nation's good. In 1844, at the urging of Christian missionaries and their native converts, the federal government amended the Indian Act to ban the potlatch festival. With the stroke of pen at Ottawa, it became illegal for natives along the northwest coast of British Columbia to hold traditional celebrations heralding the inheritance of chiefs, honoring the dead and marking other great events such as high-ranking marriages. To the natives, the potlatch was a powerful community gathering at which hosts reaffirmed their status by freely distributing property and native slaves among their guests. But to the more powerful missionaries, the potlatch represented a pagan way of life that threatened the established order. By 1951, when Parliament finally lifted the ban, the era of the great potlatches had long ended—and the ritual customs had long been forgotten. But as Canada's new debate the country's future, the bitter memories of such experiences have returned with a vengeance. Charged a recent *Assembly of First Nations* discussion paper on the Constitution with the urgency of the Indian Act continues to this day. □

Across the country, in court battles, in land-claims negotiations and at the constitutional table, natives are asserting their right to substantial wealth of resource-rich land—and their inherent right to govern that land. The natives' claims draw their authority from the past, stretching from their millenarian occupancy of the land to 19th-century treaties, non-forgetful colonial laws and the Supreme Court of Canada's emerging definition of existing aboriginal and treaty rights. Politicians can no longer ignore them.

deans in June, 1990, Cree legislator Rigo Harper effectively killed the Meech Lake constitutional accord when he blocked its introduction in the Manitoba legislature because it failed to address native demands. Harper argued that the accord recognized Quebec's place in Canada, but that it ignored other

The political experience also concerned the history of deteriorating relations between Canada's natives and their European "discoverers." Initial encounters between the two groups were usually peaceful, from the 16th to the 18th centuries, but in the 19th century European settlement and diluted military aims. But that relationship degenerated after the War of 1812 as the settler population swelled and the number of external threats to Canada's security diminished. The natives rapidly lost their voice. Government set out to assimilate their land base and to force their assimilation. Over-powered peoples lapsed through much of the 20th century, impoverished, disoriented, despised, excluded. In the 1960s, when Ottawa tried to abolish Indian status altogether out of concern that it was a barrier to prosperity and full citizenship, native leaders reacted in outraged protest. "For generations," former Assistant Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson wrote in 1968, "the Indian people have been denied the right to be heard." "Canadian people," he wrote in 1968, "have been denied the right to be heard."

ing across a strip of land that once joined the two continents at what is now the Bering Strait. By the 19th century, an estimated 350-800 natives remained most of Canada's Indians. To Europeans explorers desperately seeking the wealth of the fabled Indies, they were simply "Indians." Those Indians composed more than 50 different peoples; their languages formed 11 widely different families.

Contacts: For several centuries, the Romance and Celtic peoples of Europe and the British Isles and the Indian tribes of the Great Lakes region had a mutually satisfactory relationship. The first contacts were probably between fishermen from Spain, France and England, and created a people like the Huron. When European Jacques Cartier sailed along the Great Peninsula in 1534, the natives along the shore were almost identical with trading partners they held up furs on sticks and hid the women in the woods by the mud. The Huron, a conglomerate pattern of commercial relations had evolved. The Europeans fished, traded for furs, sought passage to the legendary East with native guides and brought missionaries to preach Christianity. The natives, in turn exchanged furs for knives and axes, glass beads, alcohol and, eventually, muskets. The French dealt mainly with the Montaignis in the valley of the St. Lawrence River and the Huron of southern Ontario. The English developed a trading network with the Iroquois Confederacy, southeast of the Great Lakes.

These alliances gave importance throughout the 18th century as European conflicts spread across the globe. From 1689 to 1706, France and its allies allied forces international war with Britain and its colonial allies. When Britain conquered France's rich colony of Quebec, it took steps to secure the loyalty of the aboriginal peoples. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 reserved rich natural lands around the Great Lakes for the Indians of the United States. For the Indians, therefore, peace treaty, most natives allied with the British in the American War of Independence—hoping to protect their homelands from English troops and for the British to help them against the encroaching Americans. Britain encouraged its disappointed troops to support its allies in southern Ontario. At most 30 years later, during the War of 1812, allies like the Shawnee Tenskwawwa and the Seneca Red Jacket were again valued British allies against U.S. troops.

But peace brought ruin for many native communities. After the War of 1812, the military threat to Canada from the United States and abroad subsided. Lured by the prospect of a prosperous new land, immigrants flooded to Upper and Lower Canada from the British Isles: from 1824 to 1851, the population of Upper Canada skyrocketed to 852,000 from 55,000. The aboriginals were no longer useful, either militarily or economically. They were,

food more characteristically 1930, only 2500 Indians had accepted). In 1949 federal bureaucrats were empowered to depose traditional Indian leaders for "dishonesty, intemperance or immorality." That same statute stipulated that Indian women could not be elected to represent their status in the following decades, federal inspectors arbitrarily replaced traditional leaders with elected local council members. Indians needed an Indian agent's permit to sell their agricultural products, western miners could not leave their claims without a permit, and when a local community was always continues of their reserves without a permit. In 1952, the federal government even amended the Indian Act to outlaw the pursuit of land claims that prohibition remained on the books until 1952.

In many cases, the government's repressive approach clearly worked against any goal of assimilation. Under the terms of the Indian Act, which took effect in 1876, Indians lost their status if they became doctors, lawyers or ministers, the grave of traditional society. In 1894, western Indians were prohibited to send their children to schools run by non-Indians, the price of basic learning was a childhood away from their families in often abusive and disease-ridden environments. Finally, because the Royal Proclamation of 1763 stipulated that Indians could only cede title to their lands only to the Crown, Indians could not mortgage their reserve lands to obtain capital for economic projects. For all these reasons, the Indian Act was not only repressive,

Treaties: At the same time, non-natives took far more interest in Indian lands than in their inhabitants. In 1760, Britain and Canada authorized agents to negotiate treaties with the Indians. Treaties with the Shawanese, Seneca, and Delaware, largely in the Maritimes and Quebec, pledged peace and friendship—and confirmed the aboriginals' right to hunt and fish. In later treaties, the natives surrendered title to land. Between 1816 and 1869, as several treaties, including the 1869 Rupert's Land Act, transferred the vast northwestern prairie provinces to the British crown, the Indians negotiated such rights as hunting and fishing on their former lands and a stream of \$4 per person, which Ottawa still pays. In the early 1850s, the midget of Vancouver Island negotiated 14 separate Indian treaties.

*Formal of Tlaxtecan Indians from British Columbia in the 1800s: colliding civilisations*

Times of the century Indians greet a overboard: overboard

fect, in the way. As University of Saskatchewan historian James Milroy noted in his 1989 book, *Skyros: Inside the Museum*, "The response by Euro-Canadians was to mount numerous and extensive programs to insensitize the Indians. As the Indians moved from alliance to submission, the European responded with a change of attitude from eager gratitude to pity and contempt. Co-operation was giving way to

For the next 150 years, reserves came cloaked in a succession of patronage laws. In 1867, in an effort to convert Indians to aboriginal status, the then-Province of Canada offered the vote and 30 hectares of land to those who were educated, debt-free and

modest lump-sum payments to native bands.

Canada's natives received little benefit from Confederation. The Constitution Act of 1867 observed that "British and Indian treaties for the Indians" were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government. With that power, through 11 so-called numbered treaties between 1871 and 1921, Ottawa negotiated title to vast swaths of the West as exchange for reserves, gifts such as tools, clothing, and annual payments to disavow. Still, land-owning treaties did not cover the Métis, northern Québec, most of British Columbia and the Arctic. The treaties for that region were worst, razing for lack of funds to compensation in the simple agreement that legislators had industriously taken time to the long-settled parts of the country. Meanwhile, through bureaucratic inefficiency and outright malice, the Métis—the descendants of European fur traders and Indian women—lost many of their traditional western tracts to European newcomers.

Without power or land, even by disease and poverty, Canada's aboriginals were slow to rediscover their people. The modern native movement emerged in 1968, when the Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau unveiled proposals to bring the treaties, repeal the Indian Act and transfer responsibility for Indian programs to the provinces. The government's proposals also dismissed the concept of "aboriginal rights," considering that continuing Indian claims to the land were "too general and undefined that it is not realistic to think of them as specific claims capable of remedy."

Natives reacted with fury. Their fledgling national organizations united in a powerful lobby group. An Donald Proulx, the director of the University of Saskatchewan's Native Law Centre, observed in his 1980 book, *Our Land, Our People*, and provincial governments suddenly gained a new life. They had played a game—their very existence as Indians."

In June, 1979, a chastened Trudeau dropped the proposals.

Corrected: Still, it took a convoluted court battle to shift the balance of power between Ottawa and the provinces. In 1972, the Supreme Court of Canada argued before a seven-member panel of the Supreme Court of Canada that they still held title to their land—because they had never signed away title surrendering it. In an extraordinary decision, three justices agreed with the Métis, under three justices concluded that aboriginal title never existed—but they ruled that the British Columbia government had extinguished the Métis' title, a

seventh judge rejected the case on a technicality. Although the Métis lost their case, they scored an important legal point: mere recognition of the existence of "aboriginal title" raised concerns among federal politicians because it implied that Canada's supposedly sovereign native peoples clearly possessed unalienated rights as aboriginals.

In the wake of the Métis case, federal officials began to negotiate comprehensive claims to land that had never been ceded to treaties. The process, however, has been a slow one. So far, there have been three settlements in northern Québec and the western Arctic, as well as successful agreements in the eastern Arctic and Yukon. More than 30 comprehensive claims, including the Nulnaq, re-

main could, at the very least, regulate them.

In 1982, after a massive aboriginal protest campaign, Canada entrenched the recognition of "existing aboriginal and treaty rights" in the Constitution. During the latest round of constitutional talks, natives have argued that those entitlements include the inherent right to self-government—and they have succeeded in explicit entrenchment in the Constitution. Meanwhile the courts have tentatively entered their compromise move. In 1990, in the so-called Sparrow case, the Supreme Court ruled that the Miqsoque Nation of British Columbia retained an aboriginal right to fish because governments had never extinguished that right. The court added that any attempt to extinguish rights must be "clear and plain."



Native Indians from Alberta at an Anglican school education meet a loss of identity

main asserted. In addition, Ottawa has dealt with 86 specific complaints about treaty violations since 1982; over 500 claims remain unresolved.

Two decades after the Métis case, the concept of aboriginal rights remains the focus of fierce constitutional debate, as the courts and in land-claims negotiations. Until Ottawa and the provinces attended the Commission in 1982, Indian treaties were accorded the status of contracts by the courts. As a result, Parliament had the right to pass laws that regulated or extinguished treaty rights—but federal law shielded those rights from provincial interference. On non-treaty territory, the courts have recognized that aboriginal rights—such as the right to hunt and fish—could still exist. But the courts have also ruled that, before 1982, Parliament was legally empowered to extinguish those rights—and provincial legisla-

ture could, at the very least, regulate them. In 1982, after a massive aboriginal protest campaign, Canada entrenched the recognition of "existing aboriginal and treaty rights" in the Constitution. During the latest round of constitutional talks, natives have argued that those entitlements include the inherent right to self-government—and they have succeeded in explicit entrenchment in the Constitution. Meanwhile the courts have tentatively entered their compromise move. In 1990, in the so-called Sparrow case, the Supreme Court ruled that the Miqsoque Nation of British Columbia retained an aboriginal right to fish because governments had never extinguished that right. The court added that any attempt to extinguish rights must be "clear and plain."

Observed University of Toronto law professor Patrick Mackenzie. "In the Sparrow case, the Supreme Court stated that aboriginal rights include those rights that protect activity that is essential to an aboriginal community's self-determination. Does that include self-government? Does that include aboriginal jurisdiction over areas such as criminal justice or child welfare? And what constitutes 'clear and plain' extinguishment of those rights?"

Ultimately, the answer to these legal and constitutional questions lies in history—in ancient traditions, crumbling treaties and the sage of conflicting civilizations. Perhaps natives and newcomers can only forge permanent modern treaties when, together, they reach a more complete understanding of their historical past.

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SCOTLAND'S SEPARATIST AIMS

In the excitement of St. Andrew's Church on the corners of Glasgow last Wednesday night, two dozen elderly men gathered for their weekly beer-bawling match and a dose of politics. Their guest was James Sillars, Scotland's best-known and most controversial nationalist leader, and he faced his skeptical audience armed with a broad-based argument for independence. Two days earlier, Sir James Sillars, a top landlocked republic in northeastern Italy of age 33 square miles and 23,000 people, had taken its seat as the 27th member of the United Nations. "If Sir James can do it," chuckled Sillars, "then there must be something wrong with us Scots if we can't be an independent nation. I mean, have we no pride?"

Scots have always been proud of their distinct identity, even throughout their 285-year-old union with Britain. And now, many are challenging their English neighbors with renewed vigor for an independent Scotland, and boosting the fortunes of Britain's Scottish National Party (SNP). To the consternation of both English politicians and Scots who favor a strong union with Westminster, a quiet but determined movement of nationalist activists has taken hold across Scotland—in it has many of Europe's smaller nations (page 28). And while it is unlikely to result in complete independence, the movement "nearly at the border," as the English refer to Scotland, has already attracted Britain's national political debate. Prime Minister John Major was expected to call a general election as early as this week—with voting likely to take place on April 9. And opposition leaders say that Scotland's demands for change raise the prospects for political reforms throughout the United Kingdom much more likely.

Scotland's disaffection deepened during the 1980s when then-Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's brand of radical conservatism was strongly resisted in the region. While popular southern England grew Thatcher's Tories there successive majority governments. Scots voted overwhelmingly for the Labour Party and clinging to the kind of class-based politics that Thatcherism aimed to eliminate. Now, under Major, the Tories hold only one of Scotland's 72 parliamentary seats—increasing the influ-

TORY TIMES ARE TAXING THE 285-YEAR-OLD UNION BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND

ing of many Scots that they, like Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland and nationalists in Wales, are ruled by a foreign government in London. And in January, a series of events commemorated that issue of identity.

First, London-based British Steel Inc. announced the closure of a huge steel complex at Ravenscraig near Glasgow, triggering the loss of 30,000 jobs and sparking outrage at the decision—made outside of Scotland. A few days later, a Scottish opinion poll put support for independence at an unprecedented 50 percent, and writers and singers formed a group called Artists for an Independent Scotland to press for change. They signed up actor Sean Connery, a longtime SNP supporter, to narrate a five-minute television broadcast plugging independence. The Scottish edition of *The Sun* newspaper helmed the demonstration on Jan. 23 by endorsing independence—the first major daily to support separatism. Rival editions dismissed it as a cynical marketing technique, but *The Sun* seemed to have captured the new mood with a bold four-page proclamation: "It's time to be a nation again"—words from the unofficial national anthem, *Flower of Scotland*.

Since then, support for independence has subsided somewhat. Most polls now put it at between 38 and 40 percent, with more Scots backing a limited form of autonomy, or devolution, which would give Scotland a separate parliament, similar to a provincial legislature in Canada, with powers over local affairs. The Labour Party and the current Liberal Democrats both favor that solution. Major's Conser-



vatives are the only party still fully in support of the terms of the 1707 Act of Union that abolished Scotland's parliament while leaving it with its own legal structure, education system and national church. Meanwhile, government leaders show clear signs of alarm. Major himself went to Edinburgh in February to attack independence as "pure poison" and described as "devastating" for both Scotland and all of Britain.

Other ministers have trooped north to point out the advantages of the union. Scots, they note, receive more money per capita for education, health and other services than do the English—\$580 a year for hospital treatment, compared with \$150 in England. But many Scottish Tories acknowledge that their party has failed to capture the popular mood and risks losing most of its remaining seats in Scotland. "We're no longer dealing with leaders—we're dealing with Scots," said Michael Hart, a government Glasgow Conservative.

That has given Sillars a chance for a breakthrough in the general election. The party holds just five seats now, but a poll last week gave the SNP 30 percent support, compared with 30 per cent for Labour and just 18 per cent for the Scottish Tories. Officially, Sillars is the SNP's deputy leader—the leader is Alex Salmond, a 47-year-old SNP member—but he is its most flamboyant figure. A radical Labour MP in the early 1970s, Sillars left the party in 1974 because it would not embrace more power for Scotland. He joined the SNP in 1980, a year after the nationalist cause suffered its biggest setback in a referendum that defeated a proposal for a Scottish assembly. Sillars, who is now 55, then helped move the SNP sharply to the political left, away from its traditional vision of "Scottish Tories" who never catch me in a trap," he says. And he developed a policy that linked Scottish independence firmly to continued membership in the European Community.

In an interview last week at his Glasgow headquarters, Sillars acknowledged the party's slogan of "Independence in Europe" is key to its renewed popularity. The SNP has traditionally argued that a separate Scotland, with its highly educated population of five million and its North Sea oil wealth, could flourish. But, said Sillars, the British-led SNP's campaign to complete its single market by the end of this year has finally convinced many Scots that the framework guarantees economic stability. "That takes away fears of being cut out of the British market or the European market," said Sillars. "We just want to go straight from Edinburgh to Brussels without going through London." A Canadian parallel would be the Parti Québécois's former position of sovereignty association—fostering independence with the assurance of continuing links with the rest of Canada.

There are few other links between the Quebec and Scottish situations. Under Canada's federal structure, Quebec already benefits

A rally of the Scottish National Party in Edinburgh: a self-confident culture

World Notes

ABORTION RUSS

Ireland's Supreme Court ruled to allow abortion if a mother's life is at risk. The decision followed by a week the lifting of a travel ban on a 14-year-old girl who sought an abortion in England. The judges said that they feared the teenager, who said that she was raped, would commit suicide if the state not allowed to terminate her pregnancy. British doctors permitted the abortion and took satisfaction for genetic comparisons with the blood of the alleged rapist.

A CALL TO ARMS

In a poll published by the Paris-based weekly magazine *Le Point*, 90 per cent of respondents said that the war in France's 200-year-old national anthem, *La Marseillaise*, are the Monarchy. The lyrics, which include a call to "drush our friends with expert blood," have been attacked by prominent citizens, including first lady Danielle Mitterrand, who argue that they are racist. A newly formed Committee for the Defense of the *Marseillaise* vowed to fight any changes.

NEW TENSIONS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Following a referendum in which more than 90 per cent of voters favored nationalism, Bosnia-Herzegovina became the fourth Yugoslav republic to declare its independence. Ethnic Serbs, who are a minority in the Muslim-dominated republic, boycotted the vote and are uprooting themselves in the capital of Sarajevo.

DAMAGING EVIDENCE

At the New York City murder and racketeering trial of alleged Mafia boss John Gotti, witnesses Salvatore Gravano (the Bull Gravano) testified that he and Gotti planned—and watched—the 1985 killing of mobster Paul Castellano. After Castellano's murder by hit men outside Gotti's Steak House, a Manhattan restaurant, in 1985, the two men took control of the Gambino crime family, the nation's largest. It was during evidence against Gotti, 51, who has been acquitted three times in six years on racketeering and assault charges.

POLITICAL RAILROAD

A reconciliation by South Carolina Senator Ernest Hollings on how to respond to Japanese claims that American back door was widely condemned in both countries. Hollings suggested that war-crime in his home state should have a picture of atomic-mushroom cloud with a caption reading: "Made in America by lazy and illiterate Americans and twisted Japan."

from devolution by having its own national assembly. Said Jan Peypave, a lecturer at Edinburgh University's Centre of Canadian Studies who submitted a report last week to the Canadian High Commission in London that compared the two trends of nationalism: "What Scotland wants, for starters, is what Quebec already has."

Most importantly, noted Peypave, Scotland has no national minority committed to fighting looter ties with England, as Quebec has with anglophones and natives who oppose independence. That situation has helped to keep the Scottish debate remarkably even-tempered, with few rallies or demonstrations to raise the political temperature. Even such staunch independence supporters as Billie Jean Reid are not violent. It will remain the English. "The folk in London are not madmen," he said. "They don't sit and think 'How will we sock it to the Jocks [Reids] this week?' It's basically overnight and a permanent irritant."

Despite his new prominence, Reid kept quiet of independence still appears somewhat distant. In his speech last week at St. Andrew's Church, he received a polite but skeptical hearing from his audience. It was made up mostly of retired men who had spent their lives working in the area's heavy industries, many of which fell into bankruptcy during the 1980s. Wallace Black, 58, who was laid off eight years ago after 38 years at the nearby Royal Dalmacian factory, said: "It's all right being nationalist, but when it comes to the sovereignty folk was I got for it. They'll be an outcome." Also, McQuinn, a 54-year-old merchant, added: "People are coming for a halfway house, some kind of assembly for



Conservatism: ruled by a foreign government in London

supporters of independence. Patrick Kane, the 37-year-old head singer for a Glasgow rock group, then said Gray and a key organizer of Britain for an independent Scotland, listed the most sensitive attitude among Scots to an upsurge of cultural activity during the 1980s.

That was the case in Glasgow particularly, he said, where novelist James Kelman and other writers have promoted a new sense of Scottish identity. "There is a self-confident culture that has given Scotland a legacy and an independence it didn't previously have," said Kane. "At the same time, younger people don't have the sense of British identity that older people who went through the war and the postwar period had."

Whatever the effects on the Scots themselves, their national debate has implications for all of the United Kingdom. Because Britain does not have a federal system, a separate Scottish assembly would effectively give Scots more representation than English or Welsh voters; they would control their own local affairs while at the same time sending MPs to London to vote on English issues. Critics of devolution say that the result would be a constitutional crisis.

As well, many proposals for a Scottish parliament involve some form of proportional representation—a radical departure from the first past the post system now used in most parliamentary elections under the British system. Paddy Ashdown, leader of the centrist Liberal Democrats and a strong advocate of electoral reform, last week described Scotland's demands for its own assembly as an "envelope change" that could open the door to reform throughout the United Kingdom. For traditional British politicians, that would be an added—and sensitive—issue if Scotland does succeed in joining San Marino and the 174 other members of the United Nations.

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ANDREW PHILLIPS in Glasgow

THE DESIRE TO GO IT ALONE

Reassured in part by the independence of former Eastern Bloc states, nationalist movements now are stirring throughout Europe. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, suppose powerful democratic reform, others, against with the idea of change, national violence. Said Charles Pridemore, head of political studies at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont.: "Since 1989, there has been a sense that we are entering a new phase of reawakening nations that is a lot like the reawakening of the map that took place after the First World War." Some flash points:

- On the Mediterranean island of Corsica, France's poorest region, the 16-year-old National Liberation Front has bombed tourism offices and government buildings. Although experts say that less than 20 per cent

of the island's 200,000 residents favor outright separation, a majority wants greater autonomy and control, including of the Corsican language, which is closer to Italian than French.

- In northern Italy's industrialized Lombardy region around Milan, the right-of-center Lega Lombarda party wants to secede the current constitution and form Italy into a loose federation of regions. Party officials argue that Lombardy, which contains about 18 per cent of the country's population, contributes 40 per cent to the national economy but receives only 25 per cent of government expenditures.

- Despite a decade-long period of power under a 1986 central bank agreement, another in Belgium between Dutch-speaking Flemings in the north and French-speaking Walloons, in the south still simmer. A tripling of voter support in November elections gave the ultra-nationalist Flemish bloc, which advocates a separate Flemish state and the secession of immigrants, 57 parliamentary seats out of 212.

- Although the Spanish government has granted greater autonomy to its 17 regions

since the death of dictator Gen. Francisco Franco in 1975, the meeting is experiencing signs of Europe's most serious separatist violence. Already this year, 13 people have died in attacks by independence-seeking guerrillas from the northern Basque region—making the total deaths related to the dispute to more than 700 since 1969. Organizers of the Summer Olympics opening in July in Barcelona, in northeastern Spain, are taking extra precautions against the possibility of terrorist outbreaks.

As power becomes more centralized under the European Community, cooling borders will become less significant—and demands for control over local matters may increase. Said Pridemore: "Some believe that, ultimately, the key to a federal system based not on existing nation-states, but on regions." On the brink of a new era, Europe's leaders could find some of the present boundaries increasingly difficult to maintain.

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Student passing through a metal detector in Brooklyn, N.Y., high school crime

THE UNITED STATES

A blackboard jungle

Guns and violence are common in U.S. schools

According to the Atlanta-based Centers for Disease Control, one U.S. student in five carries a weapon to school and about one student in 20 carries a gun. The National Crime Survey shows that almost three in five crime victims or near U.S. schools every year—over every 10 seconds. So serious is the problem in New York City that Mayor David Dinkins last week unveiled a \$50-million plan to put more police in high school corridors and metal detectors at the doors. Michael's Washington Correspondent Sidney Hershenson visited one security school in the nation's capital last week. His report:

It is a day like most others at Francis L. Cardozo High School. As the sound of police sirens pierces the chilly late-afternoon air, black teenagers with tactical handguns and dressed in bright colors line up at the low-wire yellowish fluorescent detectors, as windows covered with white mesh security screens and its doors reinforced with steel bars. Suddenly, six squad cars and a paddy wagon, loaded with riot mace and police, as they scorch to a halt at front of the school of rich students. Then, the officers, armed with black,

high-tech plastic Baton Glock pistols, nightsticks, blunts and handcuffs, rush inside. Moments later, 18-year-old student Michael Taylor emerges from the building and discards the door noise, mimicking someone pinning a shell into the chamber of a shotgun. "Someone's gonna' run the school with a [50 gauge]," he yells. "They ain't find it yet. But someone's gonna'."

After 40 minutes, police apprehend a student who has been running through the school's dark, grainy hallways brandishing a barbed, machine-gunned rifle. "This time it was not for real," says acting sergeant Robert LaPrade, from Washington's crime-infested Third District, in the northeast section of the city. "None of us was playing around. But we always have to take it seriously." Students show their crime in U.S. schools is reaching epidemic proportions. And nowhere is the situation more bleak than in the poorest parts of Washington, where the D.C. Public School Security Service has logged 52 weapons incidents already this school year. There's a culture of drugs and gang violence has turned many schools into armed camps where students routinely carry knives and cheap handguns known

as Saturday night specials. Declared school board director of safety and security Theodore Tuckman: "It's almost like dealing with a lost generation." With the sound of ambulance sirens wailing in the background, Tuckman adds, "The gun is the sign of the times. And the violence is happening every day."

In the shadow of a sign that warns against the sale, possession or use of illegal drugs or alcohol within 1,000 feet, or firearms within 500 feet, at Cardozo High, students Marcus Taylor, 17, and his brother Michael talk about the incident that the horrifying cycle of violence in their school. "She never owns a gun," says Michael. "But these days, it's essential to own guns." He adds, "I mean, what are you gonna' do? Fight 'em all off with one gun? You have to have four or five." Michael says that he has a personal arsenal of four handguns. "It's a way to settle scores," says Marcus, adding, "A lot of people buy guns. It's easy as buying bubble gum from a vendor."

In the dilapidated neighborhood surrounding Cardozo High, with its faded yellow brick (recently built) and run-down housing projects, these students hang out on garbage-strewn Children Street. After Johnson, 18, Michael, 16, 17, and Ross, 17, all members of a neighborhood gang, explain that "boots" (guns) are necessary both to protect your turf and to retaliate against rival gangs. "You'd use 'em if someone threatened to kill you or if someone threatened your family," says Dicks. "Or if they jumped you," adds Daniels. "You've got to get 'em before they get you." Says Johnson, who has two stab wounds from recent brawl in a neighborhood "gang" or dance club.

Police and security officials say that most of the fights on the school grounds are not over drugs but over girls, lawsuits, designer clothing—or even someone's looks. "A guy gets someone (black woman) up and down and they don't want, they're a mess or a punk and they can't fight so you press them to fight," explained security director Tuckman. Shootings and stabbings are a frequent occurrence around Cardozo High. But violence on school property is an increasing problem. "Once the school zone was a mark of respect," said Hershenson, who visited one of Washington's two walk-through metal detectors at Cardozo High after a shooting and stabbing there on Jan. 30. He added: "Now, the students are closer and closer to the classroom. The teachers don't expect the law, the police or anything because they don't believe us anything. They are not afraid of jail or fines."

On the scene, Cardozo students Johnson, Marcus and Dicks claim that they can smuggle weapons into school despite the new metal detectors. In the violent world in which they live, being armed is seen as a matter of survival. "They'll shoot you in front of your mother—people don't care," says Dicks. "You're not safe at school on the street or at your own home." An athletic scholarship to Michigan State's University can be off-limits if you are charged to finally escape the danger. "I want to go to college," says Johnson. "I don't want to die."



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Days of big decisions

Voters are angry with all the candidates

In Orlando, home to Florida's Disney World and the Magic Kingdom, a crowd had gathered at the Church Street Market, a trendy collaboration re-creation of an old-time town square, looking for another kind of magic—the political variety. Up on a makeshift stage, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton was talking about the momentous opportunity voters face in this year's presidential race. But at the

corresponded to the 26 per cent of the Republican vote that Buchanan, running for political office for the first time, won in Georgia. The protest vote also helps to explain Buchanan's capture of 30 per cent of the vote in Maryland and Colorado, where he had spent almost no time campaigning. So prevalent was the sense of disaffection with all the candidates that when Nebraska Senator Robert Kerr announced he

back of the rally, Robert Zylwinski, a chef at Disney World, crowded his tattooed arms and raised his fist in disenchanted salute with the claxon before him as this week's southern primary balloted. In 1988, he had voted for George Bush, but with the recession draining tourism and jobs in the land of Mickey Mouse, he now never to that again. Said Zylwinski: "I think Bush lost sight of what's going on in this country." He also denounced Bush's Republican challenger, conservative commentator Patrick Buchanan, as "just another snake."

But Zepheros said that he found neither of the two Democratic broadsheets any more alluring. As an example, he recalled broad sheets about Clinton's possible death: "even during the Vietnam War and about the health of former Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas, who claims to have recovered completely from cancer of the lymph nodes. 'It's bad if we die,' said Zepheros. 'I still don't see anybody out there who I can vote for.' In fact, so the campaign for the White House swings north to the March 17 Kentucky primary in Illinois and Michigan.

typhoons lashed at the country's coastline. The first presidential election of the post-Cold War era once promised a chance to chart a bold new American destiny. But polls now indicate that its angry electorate has laid the candidates—and registered a rebuke of ambassadors. See *Katya Kuzmina* on expert at Washington's pro-business Eurasian Enterprise Institute: "There is a candidate who has captured the imagination."

Bob's a message to the President from his per-

Voter disenchantment was also clear, emerging from those primaries held last week. According to Washington polls after the Maryland ballot, half Democratic voters expressed reservations about the candidate of their choice. A Bush approval rating at a record low of 38 percent from a post-Gulf War high of 80 percent and 60 percent of Republicans reported they wanted "to shake things up." The

The discontent arises at a time when both parties seem racked by what one assemblyman called a "political nervous breakdown." Buchanan has portrayed his right-wing challenge to Bush as an ideological battle for the soul of the Republican party. But in a other primary, two-thirds of those who voted for him in Maryland last week acknowledged that they did so in order to send the President a message about his own handling of the economy. And

with most analysts predicting that Bush will be reelected at the Republican convention in August, Buchanan's confusing results may only serve to leave the party bitterly divided.

For Bush, the greatest threat comes not from Reagan, but from the stagnating economy—and the electorate's plummeting confidence in his ability to manage it. After a decade of polls showing that voters regard greater trust in Republicans than Democrats to handle the country's financial fate, that trust suddenly reversed in January. And Kasser: "People are ultimately going to decide this election on why our better manager the economy—and the Republicans are losing that more right now. That's the bottom line."

be euphoric that initial disenchantment with the party's fringe elements. Clinton and Douglas, a vice-Senator Robert Kennedy, of Washington, look like Democrats in the '88 Studies. Clinton and Douglas are probably those people who are the loudest feeling people here as that the Democrats may be about to slow it down. Both Clinton and Douglas are the strongest supporters of themselves to appeal to the party's right wing, preaching a message of economic conservatism that repudiated the liberal Democratic agenda. That approach allowed voters in Clinton's party's later and liberal wing. But at Clinton's ardently progressive platform has caught on. Clinton has moved his stance from support to the Democratic "liberal" line. So, Clinton is heard with that guy who's been more conservative than he is. He has turned into the

Polls show that most liberals say that they would grudgingly accept Clinton as the Democratic nominee. But they suggest concerns that, already wounded by allegations of womanizing, he could be fatally damaged if there is another hint of scandal—on a Jeffery Faux, an economist at Washington's liberal Economic Policy Institute, put it, "if another high level drop out of the ship" that Faux cautioned that the Democratic key voters supporters would rebel against the prospect of a Clinton administration. "The Democrats' supporters are their standard-bearer," Dedmon Faux. "There's going to have to be a moment of truth as the party lead it is going to be."

Some Democrats still whisper wildly of drafting phantom candidates or of a white knight riding to the party's rescue at the convention in New York in July. But if both parties fail to shake their lockstep image, the likeliest result will be that, in a country that prides itself on having brought democracy to the former Soviet empire, the lowest percentage of Americans in history may bother to exercise their right to vote.

MUSIC MEDICALS in Washington



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ESTRANGED PARTNERS

TRADE DISPUTES THREATEN THE FTA

The visitors have been polite but persistent. Over the past year, as many as three at a time have called on CAMI Automotive Inc. of Saginaw, Ont., to inspect its systems and test through the company's records. The investigators have enjoyed their welcoming access to the company's accounts because they work for the United States Customs Service. They claim that they suspect the car-and-truck factory near London is producing vehicles that, under the terms of the Free Trade Agreement, are not "made in North America." If the customs bureau concludes that the plant, jointly owned by General Motors of Canada Ltd. and Suzuki Motor Co., is merely an assembly depot for parts made mostly in Japan, its cars will be charged a 25-per-cent duty—and its trucks a crippling 20-per-cent duty—before they can be sold in the United States. As he considered that possibility, CAMI's vice-president of finance, Michael Nylis, was fairly optimistic last week. Said Nylis: "If we get an objective audit, we will get a clean bill of health."

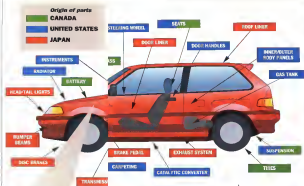
But elsewhere, there was dismay after U.S. customs called that 50,000 cars built at Honda Canada Inc.'s plant at Alliston, Ont., in 1989 and 1990 had failed its test. That decision could leave Honda with a bill of \$22 million for overvalued duty. Among Canadian exporters, the concern runs deep: In Ottawa, officials from the Prime Minister's press desk repeatedly expressed concern that the investigations of Honda, CAMI and a third Canadian auto plant, owned by Toyota, were biased. For his part, Brian Mulroney described the lumber dispute as "an exercise in futility," adding: "It's politics, not law."

The American scrutiny of Canadian automakers is an additional friction at a time when trading relations between Canada and the United States are already tense. Three years after implementing the FTA, the two countries are negotiating to resolve Mexico in an expanded continental pact. Those talks continued last week, even as some of those who helped to

design the original FTA expressed doubts about whether it is waiting as extended to shield Canada from the wave of protectionism that has swept the United States in this increasingly protectionist year. Underlining those doubts, the U.S. Commerce Department announced Friday that it considers Canadian softwood lumber to be unfairly subsidized—and placed a 14.43-per-cent duty on about \$3 billion worth of this country's exports. Declared Edward Bonwell, vice-chairman of the Canadian Forest Industries Council: "Taken against any other country, it would have led to a major trade war. We are the victims of the politics of protectionism."

Neither the Honda nor the lumber decisions are final yet. Both appear likely to reach FTA dispute-resolution panels—where Canadian exporters, at least, confidently predict that the Canadian arguments will prevail. In the meantime, however, Canadian lumber companies will have to post millions of dollars in bonds to cover the provisional duty on softwood exports.

The combination of U.S. attacks led the Conservative government to mount a co-ordinated political counterattack. In addition to his public denunciations, Mulroney greeted newly elected members to both The New York Times and The Washington Post, emphasizing Ottawa's displeasure with the flow of protectionist attacks on Canadian exports. External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall told a Galesburg audience: "This is a serious irritation as what was a protective agreement." And in Washington, Canadian ambassador Derek Harvey said of the U.S. decision: "Domestic political considerations and the recession are the



Parts Of Contention

Honda's 1989 Civic: the company says that it is 60-per-cent North American-made; U.S. customs calls it 45 per cent

The Disputed Engine

An independent audit done last year by the University of Michigan determined that 42 per cent of the parts in a 1989 Civic engine, based on value, were made in the United States and 58 per cent in Japan.

main underlying reason why Canada is getting knocked." Privately, Canadian officials took a stronger position, telling their American counterparts that unless the trade dispute ends, the goal of an expanded North American free trade agreement—and even the original agreement itself—will be in danger.

For their part, experts in the United States denigrated last week's rulings in the normal workings of American trade law. Said economist Jeffrey Schott, a research fellow for the Washington-based Institute for International Economics: "What you have a trade arbitration of \$200 billion a year, it will produce friction." Added Schott: "One of the benefits

of the FTA was the establishment of the dispute-settlement machinery."

But in fact, America's protectionist mood is clearly linked to the political elections slated by November's presidential election. That is particularly the case for President George Bush, whose campaign for reelection has been dogged by right-wing challenge Patrick Buchanan's demands that Washington act to protect American industry from foreign competition. "It puts a lot of pressure on the President to show that he can be as protectionist as the next guy," said Carolyn Ritchie, Canada's deputy chief trade negotiator during the FTA talks and now an Ottawa consultant. But even if the American political climate subsides after the November election, the current outbreak of protectionist actions may already have done lasting damage—both to Canada's benefits under the FTA and to Mulroney's government.

Bush last week confirmed his commitment to keep its Alton plant open whatever the outcome of the dispute. But some industry analysts said that the U.S. customs ruling could discourage further Japanese investment in Canada. Liberal free trade critic Roy MacLennan, for one, accused Washington of sending out a clear message to "invest in the United States—otherwise we will use every device we

can think of to ensure that those exports from Canada into the United States are subject to harvesting treatment."

For other critics of the Mulroney government, the week's events offered additional reasons to get rid of both the Tories and the PCs. Said NDP trade critic David Barrett: "As far as the Tories go, they have been done, and it has been their stupidity or ineptness." The New Democrats have pledged to abrogate the agreement if they are elected to power. MacLennan's Liberals, meanwhile, say that they would renegotiate certain sections. In his Ottawa office overlooking Parliament Hill, former negotiator Ritchie was among those who said that U.S. resistance to exports from Canada may indeed lead to cancellation of the FTA. He added: "If the Americans continue to play this game they will ensure that the next government—whatever it is—is composed of people committed to ending the FTA." For cost and its more than 2,000 employees at Saginaw, a more immediate concern is whether the agreement is capable of defending their interests, even while it is in full force.

NANCY WOOD in Ottawa with JOAN DALEY in Toronto. JEFFREY MCKENZIE in Washington and ARNOLD GREGOR in Los Angeles

Business Notes

SLAMMING ON THE BRAKES

In a move that economists said will likely slow a recovery, the Bank of Canada increased its benchmark rate sharply. Responding to the recent volatility in the Canadian dollar on international currency markets, the central bank increased its rate to 7.75 per cent from 7.5 per cent. Indeed, Canada's five largest banks to raise a limited range of business and personal loan rates. The increase coincided with bank evidence of continued weakness in the nation's economy. Statistics Canada reported that Q344 housing and automobiles declined last month. The nation's unemployment rate, in turn, rose to 13.4 per cent in February from 12.4 per cent in January—the highest level since April, 1985.

THE REICHMANNS REVEAL

A spokesman for Toronto's Silberman Reichmanns family denied allegations of financial malfeasance that the family's Olympia & York Developments Ltd. might be planning to file for bankruptcy. The rumors prompted investors to sell stock in U.S. and Canadian banks that have loans outstanding to Olympia & York. The company itself sold its stake in Richardson International Corp. Last Inc. for \$255 million last week, and stated until just before a redemptive deadline to buy back \$40 million worth of bonds. Olympia & York has secured huge debt to finance its \$7.5-billion luxury hotel sector project in London.

MINERALS LITTER

Federal Energy Minister John Egan and Petro-Canada chairman Wilfrid Laurier issued warnings about the future of New Brunswick's Miramichi offshore oil project. Egan said that the three companies in cooperation with the Miramichi consortium must find a partner to replace departing Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. by October to ensure the project's survival. However, some company a one of the partners must be approved by the provincial government could be suspended within 60 days unless another company steps in.

MONTREAL MAIL SIZED

Insolvency trustees from Ernst & Young filed several court orders of Montreal's downsize. The company's assets are valued at about \$200 million. The 15-month-old company, built at a cost of over \$200 million and owned by Tech-Concept Developments Ltd. and a numbered company, is the third major Montreal shipping company to be seized by creditors in the past six months.

Operation FUNTAXI

The making of a major Canadian export deal

At a time when most Canadian automobile plants are reeling from a slump in North American vehicle sales, the opportunity seemed almost too good to pass—\$15.5-billion export contract for 65,000 cars. But for weeks, Howard Walle and Brent Jollymore, two young Toronto businessmen trying to broker the transaction, ran into snafus and lights. Finally, the Ford Motor Co. gave them a green light to negotiate. Instead of a huge fleet of taxis for Argentina at Ford Canada's factory in Oakville, Ont. And then, on the weekend, as senior Argentine trade officials flew to Toronto to finalize terms, Ford was proud for what a beginning executive described as the company's largest single export sale—and a substantial share of the profit.

Ford stood to make more than \$600 million in the sale, with the order to be completed this year. Other Canadian parts makers were in line to share substantial spoils. The buyer is Argentina's national association of tax owners, *Asociación Abtaxis*. But it was Walle and Jollymore, founding partners in a small Toronto car-and-transport leasing company, Phoenix Plus Inc., who laid the groundwork for the deal. Walle, 44, the company president, and Jollymore, 29, its executive vice-president, ran into many frustrations.

But at week's end, a senior Ford executive said that his company is already getting up in Oakville. Declared Howard Abtaxis, Ford's Detroit-based fleet sales manager for North American export sales. "After we receive the final information on the financing and guarantees, we will proceed. We're ready to go."

For his part, Jollymore said that Ford would not have to wait long—he expected arrangements to be completed within 10 days. As well, Phoenix is negotiating with Magna International Inc., the automotive-parts manufacturer based in Markham, Ont., to convert the vehicles' fuel systems to burn natural gas. In total, the arrangement calls for delivery of 65,000 1992 and 1993 Tempos by the end of this year. "It will be very hot, in style here," said Abtaxis. "The automotive market is

Canada and the United States has seen better days."

The plus built out hopes of a boost for the Oakville plant, and its 2,000 assembly-line workers, who have borne a disproportionate share of the downturn in North American car sales. The plant, which makes both Tempos and Taurus compacts and is capable of making

Jollymore concede that they had difficulty convincing North American auto executives that the Argentine deal was feasible. It was out of Argentina's last fall with businessmen in Costa Rica who wanted to buy seven jets to start an airline. Jollymore said that one of those businessmen told them that a year later was waiting a fleet of new cars that conformed to new Argentine auto-emission laws.

Walle and Jollymore said that in January, after preliminary discussions with contract and Argentine trade officials, they approached the managers of a very major automobile assembly plant in Canada. But once export and any services interest, Jollymore said that trade officials in Ottawa and Ontario also voiced skepticism. Undaunted, they approached the



Phoenix partners Walle (left) and Jollymore: brokering a deal worth more than \$1.5 billion

248,000 vehicles annually, shut down for 30 weeks last year and a total of four months in the first year. Ford Canada spokesman James Bartholomew said that the sale in Argentina would eliminate the need for any further layoffs this year. Said Bartholomew: "It is a piece of very positive news."

Phoenix secured an unlikely monitor for such a huge transaction. The firm was founded just two years ago by Jollymore, a former associate with Canadian Pacific Ltd.'s trucking division, and Phoenix president Howard Walle, a chartered accountant with 18 years of experience in the car leasing business. The company, with 15 offices in Toronto leasing cars and trucks, has expanded into aircraft sales and leasing.

Because of their inexperience, Walle said

local offices of all those of the major North American automakers in Detroit, but only Ford came up with an acceptable bid. Said Jollymore: "It was ironic. We were talking to them at a time when they were announcing layoffs."

At Ford, Abtaxis asked Phoenix to secure financial guarantees from Argentine banks and trade officials. The two partners then flew to Buenos Aires to arrange those guarantees. And as they prepared for final negotiations with the Argentinians this week, 2,000 Ford assembly-line employees were set to return to work at the Oakville plant—and to the prospect of a more productive and prosperous future.

JAMES DAVIES

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changes. Over the past several years, he has traded his legal services for a telephone system, office furniture, restaurant and printing. Said Kline: "A cash sale is always better than barter. But if you have more extra capacity in your business and it doesn't take away from cash clients, it can reduce your overhead and help pay top into a new market."

In Canada, get barterists into trouble with tax authorities if they fail to report and pay tax on their transactions—and avoid up getting caught. Although Kline, for one, says that it is highly unpopular for businesspeople being prosecuted by not paying tax on every one of their barter transactions, he adds that he is nevertheless concerned that for individual traders actually to declare their full value. Said Revenue Canada's director general of audits, Edward Gauthier: "Barter is a common form for Revenue Canada. The department realizes that it's impossible to track most of these deals—they're never recorded. And as usual as tax, where it's most common, barter is a way of life."

For their part, trade exchange operators say that they advise their members that it is their responsibility to report any transactions to provincial and federal tax authorities. They, in turn, will charge provincial sales tax and the GST on the trade value of the transactions. For businesses, many traders are also giving up deductions on operating expenses. Still, few participants in Canada's thriving unregulated economy de-

precate Kline's claims that most of it occurs beyond the reach of the law.

But there are other potential drawbacks to barter. In some cases, traders report problems in collecting the reciprocal goods or services that they have been promised. Said Madsen: "You always have to take your lead. Barter is not for lazy shoppers." Cash is like turning the key in a powerboat, but barter is like sailing

standardly apply when trade exchanges arrange deals with other networks in Canada or the United States. But while the 13-year-old Vancouver-based International Reciprocal Trade Association joins 17 U.S. trade systems, its fledgling counterpart, the five-member, Vancouver-based Canadian Reciprocal Trade Association, acknowledges that it has neither the money nor the staff to oversee the activities of Canadian trade exchanges.

Before its latest surge in popularity, barter was an accepted practice in some businesses. Trading companies have long exchanged advertising space and art services for such items as computer equipment, airline travel credits and hotel rooms. Even investment dealers have developed forms of bartering that they call "soft-dollar" trading in which security brokers received data and valued clients with such benefits as free research, computer software and news wire services. Said Gerrard Bernard, president of Toronto-based Lowrey, Ondaatje, McCutcheon and Co. Inc.: "With soft dollars, the dealer gets the business and the client gets the trade, plus something else he needs but doesn't have to write a cheque for." But as the economy contracts its sluggish resources, more and more businesses and consumers are looking that doing business does not always mean exchanging money.

DEBORAH McMEIKEN with **JOHN McMEIKEN** in *Vancouver* and **JOAN MORSE** in *Calgary*



Vancouver's Madsen on chair; his barter officer offers a trade in trade

You have to tack across the lake. It's not a straight line."

Canadian trade exchange operators say that they try to weed out potentially troublesome members as advisors. They add that they qualify with new membership from anyone who holds to hold up his side of a trade. The same

estimated was worth more than \$10 million in international aircraft markets, in exchange for two million books. Kline said that he was unimpressed by the offer, but it was too late for him to accept. Said Kline: "I didn't want to be the only publisher with an air frame."

In most across countries, Kline, like many other businessmen trying to establish a foothold in the chaotic markets of the former Soviet Bloc, says that he has no choice but to pursue high-level bartering. He and other Western businessmen refuse to accept local currency, which cannot be converted into dollars. But Kline adds that because foreign currency reserves in these countries are increasingly scarce, local merchants and factory managers amass huge stockpiles of commodities that they can trade—"Plastic, glass, steel—anything they can get hold of," he said. Still, there is no safeguard if a deal goes sour. "There is no commercial law," Kline said. "All you are relying on is a handshake."

Despite the risks, Kline plans to close his first major Eastern European barter deal this

month. According to the plan, Kline's customer, a Soviet state-owned book distributor in Rostov, will ship lumber by train from Ukraine to Budapest. There, a middleman will route the lumber for export, which will be shipped to Warsaw. In the Polish capital, a customer has agreed to pay the most from Kline's agent and pay for it with Polish clergies, which are convertible into dollars. Kline's agent in Poland will then convert the clergies into as expected \$5 million and deposit the money in a trust account in a Swiss bank. Only then, says Kline, will he pick up the \$500,000 books to Ukraine. Kline, who built a fortune in economics from the University of Toronto, says that his type of bartering is profitable by Western standards. But he predicts that it will persist until Eastern European markets stabilize. Until then, Kline will have to keep an eye on the international prices of aluminum, rapeseeds and other commodities

JOHN BULLY



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A BLENDING OF ART AND MACHINE

THE FUN SIDE OF DOWNSIDE

Pierre Kline says that he has few qualms about arranging elaborate international barter of timber or more for his books, but he does the less at the 2000 St. J. Kline, owner of a small Toronto-based company that publishes distributed bilingual English dictionaries for children in 14 languages—including Polish, Ukrainian and Russian. Among his most pressing target markets are the newly capitalist markets of Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States. But because of acute shortages of foreign currency in these countries, the 45-year-old businessman says that he now spends much of his time trying to arrange exchange agreements for his books.

Last year, two Polish distributors offered him an assumed M/G dealer, which Kline



Setting up business away from Ontario

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Neither Canada's endless constitutional debate nor priorities of the country's economic future take much account of what's happening in Atlantic Canada. Most Upper Canadians regard the region as a business backwater whose inhabitants can constantly be recognized by their overinflated prices seeking personal federal handouts.

Like most Canadian stereotypes, this one is highly exaggerated and, for a growing enclave of imaginative entrepreneurs, the image is not only outdated but so wrongheaded as to be ridiculous. During a recent visit to Halifax, I talked to four successful chief executive officers who have found surprisingly profitable niches in their industries. Their experience is significant because they represent the region's new independent mentality, made necessary by a bankrupt Ottawa treasury and the possibility of Quebec's secession.

Hector Jacques, 46, came to Halifax from India in 1967 after graduating as a civil engineer from the Indian Institute of Technology in Bombay and obtaining a certificate in education from Cambridge University in England. Five years later, with partner Michael Whitford, he formed Jacques, Whitford and Associates Ltd., which now has annual revenues of \$34 million (growing at 15 per cent a year) and employs 348 people. Associated with the Houston-based McLeod Engineers, the company does a variety of environmental impact studies and factoring surveys, as well as cost-benefit and construction site analyses.

"The biggest crippling factor in the Atlantic region," he told me, "has been that the government is so generous here. In Nova Scotia, 40 per cent of the provincial budget comes through transfer payments, which is unheard of anywhere. It's become bite-the-baiting. But I believe that once if Canada stays together, the Atlantic provinces better forget about handouts from the rest of the country. We're in our own corner, because this old country's rotten, and we're the ones, but I don't have that negative opinion."

'Even if Canada stays together, the Atlantic provinces better forget about handouts. We're on our own.'

Jacques' company already has offices in Ottawa and Toronto, with nearly a third of his billing originating in Ontario. He's about to move into the northeastern United States but his heart is in Halifax—even if he does have to suffer occasional examples of political paranoia about him. Recently, when Jacques, Whitford won the bid for a provincial government contract, the cabinet minister in charge gleefully told Jacques to withdraw the bid and wait until "his turn" came around again because his firm was already doing some work for the department. "I told him," Jacques remembers, "that it was odd to be smiling and to signal that there was no point trying to make a company grow to employ 340, because if there were 34 similar firms in Nova Scotia with 50 employees each, there'd be many more people available to take their terms."

He got the job.

A week earlier operation employing only 11 with sales of \$1 million in Bernard Scholze's Knowledge Base Publishing Ltd., a software firm that has successfully broken into the international pharmaceutical market. Dr. Scholze, 56, who quit his family practice in 1984, is a computer whiz who has helped solve a major problem facing the drug companies:

how their sales representatives can get busy doctors' attention long enough to demonstrate their new products. His simulation program, modelled on airplane flight simulators, allow doctors to treat theoretical patients on their computer screens, with realistic inputs of blood pressure, pulse, respiration and other vital signs as they administer various prescription substances—and then watch the results.

"We now provide simulation services for seven Canadian firms and have signed an international contract with Merck Frosst Inc., the world's largest pharmaceutical company, to market our products," Scholze told me. "The word of a rep having to beg for attention, doctors are calling in and asking for dinner meetings where they can sit around and discuss treatments for symptoms of fictitious patients as their reactions are flashed on the screen. The physicians have a great time, because the system is so interactive and they often start arguing about the timing and nature of treatments."

At a time when the heavily subsidized \$5.2-billion Fibrex project is being written off, Norman Miller, a quiet-spoken 51-year-old Nova Scotia producer, is getting ready to tap a proven 50-million-barrel oilfield, 46 km off Bobb's Island. This field contains only a tenth of Fibrex's reserves, but it's a proven quantity and is being brought on stream without a penny of provincial or federal subsidies.

Says Miller: "It's a light, vapour-free product and, unlike Fibrex, we're getting sweet, free, shallow water away from the main fisheries. Once production begins this spring, it will never stop because we've found other reserves at an adjacent field. Drilling and developing a small field, referred to as a light profitable, can trading your costs against becoming dependent on governments—it's the ideal way to start."

The most articulate and interesting of the new-style Halifax entrepreneurs is Steve Pinker, the 41-year-old proprietor of Capemore Communications Ltd., an advertising and public relations shop that billed \$40 million last year. He started the firm with one account (Maritime Life Assurance Co.) in 1977 and now has three dozen major clients, including such major firms as Canadian companies in Irving Oil Ltd., Grand River Inc. Ltd., National Sea Products Ltd., Sobey's Inc. and Renter Foods Ltd.

"People have been too busy to get on their own feet instead of waiting for someone to give them money," he says, pointing out that his agency has never secured any subsidies in any form. Canada and having Quebec go would be just terrible. But even the threat of it happening is making us re-evaluate everything—and that's great."

Pinker adds: "I grew up in Ontario and my friends keep asking me when I plan to return. I feel the proposition, dummy, but I guess it reflects the traditional Ontario bias that their priorities are somehow national. So when they ask if I'm coming back, I just walk over to my window, look out over the Northwest Arm and tell them, 'Am you kidding?'"

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CLOSING THE WOUNDS OF WAR

During last year's Gulf War, Iraqi officials held CBS News foreign correspondent Bob Simon captive for 40 days. Now, in a new book called *40 Days*, he published in May, the veteran reporter recounts his ordeal, which included brutal interrogations and beatings by Iraqi soldiers. But the 50-year-old Simon, who returned to his posting in Tel Aviv after the war ended and recently covered the Winter Olympics, says that he simply wants to put the experience behind him. He adds: "It's been a chapter in my life, and now that chapter is over."

An all-star act

Spring training is in full swing and, for the first time in his life, actor George Clooney has some idea of what professional baseball players go through in the early season. In *A League of Their Own*, set to open this summer, Clooney plays the catcher on the Rockland Peaches, a 1940s women's professional baseball team. The film is based on a true story: The Peaches belonged to the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League, which existed from 1943 to 1954. Placed in uniform when the American home front was in a lull, the team starts rock singer Madonna as another player and actor Tom Hanks as the team's manager.



Clooney catches on catch cam

Given a superior athletic character is supposed to be the cream of the Peaches, but the lucky Clooney readily admits that his knowledge of baseball was strictly on paper when he arrived on set. Declared Clooney, 36: "There was nothing that I knew about it, but alone was the basic rules."

ON THE ROAD TO RECOVERY

For 35 years, Jim Perry was the happy-go-lucky host of such popular TV game shows as *Jeopardy!* and *Headline Hunters* on the TV network. But Perry, 58, says that behind the scenes, his life "wasn't all fun and games." Now, he has written about his experiences in a self-help book called *The Shogun Answer: A Journey to Self-Answers*, which chronicles the breakup of his 30-year marriage. Says Perry: "I don't know all the answers, but I know that I'm at greater peace with myself than ever before."



Perry: 'at greater peace than ever before'



Cost: 'The monkey is off my back'

TEED FOR SUCCESS

Canadian golfer David Cost's Feb. 20 victory on the Kemper Open in Hawaii was clearly long overdue. Indeed, Cost had been on a winless streak ever since his turned professional in 1983, despite enjoying six Top 10 finishes last season. But his stunning performance on the Kemper has made him the number 1 golfer on the Ladies Professional Golf Association circuit. Declared Cost, a 31-year-old native of Lake Cowichan, B.C., who shot 13 under par to win the Kemper: "I wanted to win so much, but to know what it felt like." She added: "The monkey is off my back."

A shoe-in at the Oscars?

Reports from Hollywood say with every word the best actor Oscar has a challenging performance in the acclaimed thriller *Silverlinings* of the Los Angeles. The 54-year-old actor is obviously taking no chances. Last week, which he has acknowledged, he plans to wear an old pair of "buddy" black shoes to the Academy Award ceremony in Los Angeles on March 30. And Hopkins joined to help him originally planned to help his wife, who is also a performer, to help him. He added: "I only told my wife that they were lucky."

HEALTH

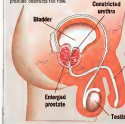
Middle-age suffering

New treatments offer hope for prostate problems

Richard Green, an Ottawa librarian, says that he began to notice unpleasant symptoms as December, 1990, when he was 50. First, he experienced an urge to urinate frequently. Then, he started feeling a pain in his lower back. His doctor, Dr. Richard Green, said that he had a prostate problem, a chronic infection of the prostate gland, a chemical secret, often at the base of men's bladders. Although it is not a cancer, the problem has become increasingly more common. "It is a very distressing condition," Green said last week, "and the distress of it may follow others." "You just feel awful all over." But some relief may be on the way. Medical researchers are developing new diagnostic techniques and treatments for the family of prostate-related diseases that ultimately affect most men.

AN ILLNESS OF AGING

As a man ages, his prostate grows. How much depends on the individual. An enlarged prostate tends to press on the bladder, slowing the urge to urinate. But at the same time, the prostate may obstruct the ureters, the tube through which urine leaves the bladder. Like a garden hose clog, an enlarged prostate obstructs the flow.



that it is important for men to have annual checkups for prostate cancer because most of them are unlikely to notice any symptoms. The most common test is a digital rectal examination, in which the doctor inserts a gloved finger into the patient's rectum and tries to feel for lumps through the rectal wall.

But the rectal exam does not always catch prostate cancer, and medical researchers are trying innovative methods of diagnosing and treating prostate problems. Dr. Richard Norman, an associate professor of urology at Dalhousie University in Halifax, and that in the

past few years, doctors have used two new tests to help diagnose cancer. One is a blood test that looks for prostate-specific antigens, a protein that increases significantly when cancer is present. In the second procedure, known as transrectal ultrasound, a wand is inserted into the rectum. High-frequency sound waves create a stamp, the doctor cannot see the wand to punch out a tissue sample for a biopsy.

Norman said that there are also new experimental treatments for early prostate cancer. In a balloon dilation, in which a doctor threads a tiny balloon up the urethra, which carries urine from the bladder. Balloon dilation of the prostate widens the flow of urine by pressing on the urethra as it passes through the gland's constriction. A treatment can use the balloon to stretch the bladder wall. The second procedure, known as the balloon dilation, is used to stretch the prostate. Both procedures could be substitutes for transurethral resection, currently the most common form of surgery for treating enlarged prostate glands. About 35,000 are performed each year. With the present under a regional anesthesia, the doctor inserts a tiny instrument into the urethra to cut away the obstructing prostate tissue. It is effective in about cases, but there is a small risk of incontinence or impotence.

At the same time, many of the world's largest pharmaceutical companies have been developing new prescription medications to shrink enlarged prostates. The first likely to be approved for use in North America is Proscar, which originated in the Caribbean, where scholars were studying a group of pseudo-hormones. The group shared a genetic trait that made it difficult to determine their sex at birth, but they developed male characteristics at puberty. In 1975, a research team from Rutgers, N.J.-based Merck & Co. first read a paper about the group reporting that their prostates remained small as they grew older. Researchers followed up on the fact that the pseudo-hormones lacked an enzyme that regulates male hormones. Most industry observers expect U.S. Food and Drug Administration approval this summer, and the drug could be available in Canada next year.

Beyond immediate relief, there is an important potential benefit to the current research: the discovery of the causes of prostate problems. That, in turn, could lead to new and better methods of treatment and prevention.

BARBARA WICKENS

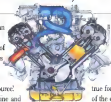
If Just A Few Of The New Parts That Went Into Lexus Are Impressive Here, Imagine What They're Like On The Road.

In the creation of the Lexus LS400, an astounding number of new patent applications were filed as a result of the work of 1400 top Toyota engineers over a period of seven years.

It started with a demanding design criterion called 'counter measures at source.'

For example, to lower engine and transmission noise in the cabin, traditional thinking adds more baffles to the cabin walls. But Lexus engineers traced

the noise to its source, the vibration caused by the way in which the engine and drive train relate to one another. Then, by optimizing



the relationship of these key parts, they gave the Lexus automobile a quieter ride than virtually any car on the road. The same holds true for practically every aspect of the car's design. To improve

peak engine performance, reducing friction is paramount. But rather than accept existing materials, the Lexus team actually came up with

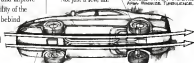


a new process for micro-finishings internal components. To minimize wind turbulence and improve the directional stability of the automobile, the beams behind

Lexus came up with yet another patented idea: airfoils on the suspension system.

These are but a few of the astounding examples of a passionate commitment to perfection. To challenge the legendary European high performance luxury cars, the Lexus

simply had to outperform these lofty feats of automotive design and engineering on all levels. Not just a few, all.



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A 'terrorist' virus

Michelangelo stirs fears of future shocks

Larry Howard Dymond had just arrived at his destination Toronto office on Friday morning when he heard a startled shout from one of his legal secretaries. "It doesn't work," exclaimed Deborah Alward. "It doesn't work," Dymond said that Alward had turned on a computer terminal and the machine "went clunk, clunk, clunk, and that was it—nothing." Dymond said that he left immediately that the machine was infected by the so-called Michelangelo virus, a destructive piece of programming capable of erasing information stored on a floppy disk or on the hard disk inside an IBM or IBM-compatible personal computer.

The cunningly devised virus, which had spread all over the world through infected hardware and software, was designed to become active on one day only, March 6. And despite well-publicized warnings in recent weeks, it disrupted thousands of computers around the world on that date. Dymond said that he narrowly missed losing several years' worth of valuable records, which were stored in another computer. Still, he added, "I was scared to death for a moment. I never thought it could happen to me."

Widely used 80 million personal computers worldwide vulnerable to viruses, the damage wreaked by Michelangelo was less widespread than some authorities had feared. Most computer owners and users, however by the publicity attending Michelangelo's approach, were able to take precautions to protect their equipment. Still, the scare drew attention to the proliferation of viruses, a rapidly growing, global threat to personal computing.

Reports have identified more than 1,200 viruses, which, like Michelangelo, affect units manufactured by International Business Machines Corp., the computer giant based in Armonk, N.Y., or by other makers adhering to IBM standards. Indeed, some users expect to find that others were turned to attack on Friday, March 13. But, Michelangelo presented a greater threat than most of the others. The reason: while most viruses are nuisances, producing messages, graffiti-like messages on computer screens ("Goodbye," in one case), Michelangelo was designed to actually destroy a lot of the information stored on disks.

The Michelangelo start began last April

when German computer scientist detected it, analyzed it and discovered its destructive potential. It got its name when researchers found that the date on which it was timed to strike, March 6, was the birthday of the great Italian Renaissance artist, born 517 years ago. After that warning, software developers were made



Computer users debate anti-virus programs: a viral plague that spells costly trouble

ing on what the computer industry call a vaccine—a program designed to detect and kill a specific virus. Computer owners around the world were able to protect themselves either by changing the internal calendars on their computers to avoid March 6 or by scanning their machines and disks with programs designed to detect and kill Michelangelo and other viruses.

But with the potential for damage from existing and future viruses remaining enormous, many computer specialists last week cautioned the programmers who create and unleash them on unsuspecting users. Saul Ragone Spillman, a computer scientist and faculty on viruses at Purdue University in West

Lafayette, Ind. "Writing these programs is like dumping chicken soup water supply. I view it as terrorist activity."

Shortly after the holiday began in various parts of the world on March 6, reports emerged of computer losses by Michelangelo. An architectural and civil engineering company in Japan reported losing disks and graphics valued at \$28,800 to \$36,800. In New Zealand, four businesses told a local computer expert that they lost everything stored in their computers. The editor of an Argentine daily newspaper in Mexico City, high in the Andes mountains, said that the virus had destroyed 75 per cent of the material filed on its computers that day.

But the largest outbreak was in South Africa, where Michelangelo struck at about 500 small companies with a total of 1,000 computers. The owners were mostly pharmacists, who

had contaminated one another's systems by sharing floppy disks. In the United States, Michelangelo struck about a dozen companies on Thursday, March 5, likely because their computers' internal clocks were inaccurate. In Canada, the reported damage inflicted by the virus was limited to less than a dozen companies by the end of the holiday on Friday.

Michelangelo's destructive potential was largely blocked because many computer users began searching for the virus in the weeks leading up to March 6. Among them, municipal officials in Milwaukee: On Saturday Feb. 24, Verus Detection Day. A census of all city employees found 350 municipally owned computers and hundreds of the floppy disks used to store

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VIA 1. THE AFFORDABLE FIRST CLASS [IT] JUST KEEPS GETTING BETTER

information in the machines. According to Eric Burton, manager of Kioschem's technical services department, the team found and destroyed 60 occurrences of six different viruses, including one case of Michelangelo. But Burton, "It was well worth the effort. Last week, everybody was running infected. Now we know we were clean."

Private investigators were put in vigilance in their search for the virus. Peter Matlin, president of Microsoft Systems Inc., a Scarborough, Ont., computer support company, said that he scanned his firm's 10 personal computers and 260 floppy disks with an anti-virus program and found three night dinks, as well as the 10 machines, had been infected. Matlin also had backup copies of the threatened data, which included company accounting records and lists of clients. He promptly sent a Michelangelo advisory by fax to 260 current and prospective clients. Sent Matlin: "We had 100 calls back from people asking us the help. It was no joke."

An public concern about the problem spread, some U.S. developers of anti-virus software made available special products designed to counter Michelangelo. Symantec Corp. of Cupertino, Calif., 46 km south of San Francisco, distributed 250,000 free copies of a virus-detecting-and-destruction program called the Michelangelo Limited Edition.

With extensive media coverage of the scare, personally little-known computer organizations began receiving thousands of telephone inquiries, in some cases from people who did

not even own computers. Robert Bales, executive director of the National Computer Security Association in Mechanicsville, Pa., 190 km west of Philadelphia, said that the name of his organization, and its telephone number, were mentioned on ABC-TV's Good Morning America show on March 5. Bales said that, as a result, he fielded an estimated 900 calls the same day, 1,500 the next day and 1,300 the day after that. Sent Bales: "One guy called and said, 'I don't have a computer but I'm worried about my bank's computers.'"

Like most viruses, Michelangelo's origins are partly shrouded in mystery. Bales and other experts said that the commonly accepted theory is that it is the work of a programmer in either Sweden or the Netherlands. Once released, it spread rapidly. A Dutch police expert on computer fraud, Lock Weerd, said last week that Michelangelo travelled back further than most viruses because its undetected Symantec software company unwittingly began distributing infected programs. But industry experts say that even in normal circumstances such viruses can travel as quickly as the common cold because of the uncontrolled use and sharing of floppy disks.

Bales said that when one person put an infected floppy disk into a computer, the machine's hard drive, or internal storage and memory disk, would immediately copy the Michelangelo program. The virus would then jump from the hard drive to any uninfected floppy disk subsequently used in the machine. The newly infected disks would then spread the

virus if they were used in any unaccustomed machine. Sharing of disks is a widespread practice, the experts say, among people who are copying software programs regularly or among employees who are working on joint projects. In Matlin's case in Scarborough, he said, "We picked it up from somebody bringing a machine in here that had the Michelangelo virus on it. Then we spread it around without knowing it."

According to Spillford, most viruses are designed to become active at a specified date in the future so that they have time to spread. He said that Michelangelo was likely released by its creator shortly after March 6, 1991, giving it almost a year to travel. Uninfected computers on networks or hard disks that were not activated on March 6 can still spread the virus, ready to strike again next March 6.

But despite its prevalence, Michelangelo is not the most common of the 1,200 or so computer viruses discovered to date. That distinction belongs to the so-called Steered virus, according to a Top 10 list compiled by Symantec Corp. The Steered virus is activated when a computer is updated. Instead of the usual program information, a user sees a blank screen and one of several variations of the message: "Your PC now is stolen." Another virus, Tinkles Doodle, becomes active at 5 p.m. on certain days and causes a computer's speakers or system to play that tone. A third virus, the Ring Ring, becomes active at random moments, causing a small round white shape to bounce around the screen.



Miller (seated) and Microsoft CEO Frank Knepper infections that are 'no joke'

By last fall, the menace had become so widespread that Bales's National Computer Security Association launched a research project. The association hired a firm to conduct a continent-wide survey of 662 companies, owning a total of 619,900 personal computers.

Slightly more than 60 per cent of the companies reported finding viruses at their machines. In another survey, conducted in early 1991, only 15 per cent of participating companies had encountered viruses.

The spread and sophistication of viruses has,

in fact, led to the proliferation of anti-viral software programs. Bales said that 90 companies around the world now have detection and destruction products available. In a test of 15 of the top products last last year, Bales concluded that a program called Dr. Solomon's Toolkit, developed by a British company, was the best. The next best, he said, was the Virus Buster program developed in Australia by Legendware Software International Ltd.

But computer scientists and software experts have not yet determined one central factor with any precision the root caused by the epidemic. They do agree that viruses have become an expensive problem, even if they do not destroy programs or other stored information. Mark Desrochers, vice-president of a Montreal software development company, MC-Computer Resources Ltd., said that he spent two hours checking his firm's 10 personal computers for Michelangelo—finding them clean—said that thousands of other organizations undoubtedly devoted time and manpower to the same job before March 6. "I wish the government would treat this type of mischief a lot more seriously," and Desrochers. "It's a new type of crime that needs to be addressed. It's costing us hundreds of millions of dollars." Meanwhile, in the wake of Michelangelo's worldwide attack, many computer owners checked their machines again for the potential threat of another attack on Friday the 13th.

BY ARNOLD JENSEN

First we found this view. Then we built the hotel around it.

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Murder times three

Justice gets blindsided in three new movies

Colored justice is the subject of three new but rarely different movies about misadventured murders. My Cousin Vinny, a gaily Midwestern farce; Let Him Have It, a harrowing drama from Britain and High Heels, a black-he moved Spanish melodrama.

MY COUSIN VINNY
Directed by Jonathan Lynn

In *My Cousin Vinny*, a carefree misanthrope of justice serves as the prosecutor for a courtroom comedy that is funnier than it has any right to be. Ralph Macchio and Marisa Tomei hold play ball and Stan, two college students driven through Alabama who are wrangly accused for the murder of a convenience store clerk. Bill calls the only lawyer he knows, his cousin Vinny (Joe Pez), a Brooklyn generalist in a black leather sports jacket who failed his bar exam six times and has never set foot in a courtroom. Vinny wheels into Wetumpka City, Ala., in a big limo. Confide with his gamely glamorous girlfriend (Lisa Mazzariello). What follows is a comic clash of northern moxie and southern manners. It is a guilty farce riddled with cheap gags and character stereotypes. But it works: *My Cousin Vinny* is hilarious.

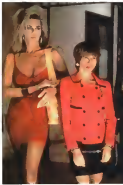
Pez, who won an Oscar last year for playing a scary little gangster in *Goodfellas*, shows that he can be every bit as good in comedy as in drama. As Vinny's dressed-to-the-teeth fiancée, who at first seems to be just window dressing, Tomei's is without her character's luscious image and delivers the script's show-stopping surprise. Meanwhile, Fred Gwynne, the lawsuit-bound mag from TV's *Car 54, Where Are You?* and *The Muppet Show*, classic 1960s sitcom, in a role as the trial's doofus judge. And British director Jonathan Lynn—who has won awards for the *W* K television comedy about British politics, *Yes Minister*—transfers the broad American humor of *My Cousin Vinny* with a dash edge of English wit.

LET HIM HAVE IT
Directed by Peter Medak

Despite their industry's economic woes, Brit ain't slow-walking in the past year have turned out one superb film after another, including

Close My Eyes, *After My Song* and *Truth, Madly, Deeply*. The latest is *Let Him Have It*, a heart-breaking drama based on the true story of a slow-witted epileptic who was hanged in 1952 for a murder he did not commit. New-caster Clive Russell is brilliant as the role of Derek Bentley, a sweet-tempered 19-year-old with a mental age of 11, who fell in with the wrong crowd.

Bentley's friend, a 16-year-old outlaw named Christopher Craig (Paul Rossini), shot and killed a policeman while they were robbing a warehouse. Because Craig was too young to



Scene from *High Heels*: mixing force and passion

hang, Bentley served as the scapegoat. The scandalous two-day trial, which made no mention of Bentley's mental handicap, turned on a disputed piece of evidence: before Craig was shot, Bentley was said to have directed, "Let him have it, Chris!" It was unclear whether he was telling his friend to shoot the policeman or give him the gun. Both chilling and compassionate, *Let Him*

Have It reconstructs the damaged life that leads Bentley astray. And although his fate is a foregone conclusion, the suspense of his final hours is almost unbearable. Peter Medak directs with balance and grit—but without the head overkill of his previous film, *The Krays* (1990), which dramatized the exploits of vicious gangster twins. Medak builds *Let Him Have It* around a sensitive portrait of Bentley's family—his protective father (Tom Courtenay), weary mother (Eden Atwood) and devoted nurse (Claire Skinner). Seen through their eyes, the story's macabre sense of social cruelty is overwhelming.

HIGH HEELS
Directed by Pedro Almodóvar

Trying to combine drama and comedy in one movie often results in a disastrous compromise. But in *High Heels*, Spanish director Pedro Almodóvar mixes love and passion in a way that heightens both extremes. Almodóvar first seduced North American audiences in 1986 with his Oscar-nominated *Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown*, an antic comedy of sexual rivalry. These films show the stylistic dexterity of *The May 19th* (*La Noche del 19 de Mayo*) (1989), the tale of a woman who falls in love with a man who brutally enslaves her. Almodóvar returned a disarmed critical squawking that with *High Heels* he has landed on his feet and released his peculiar brand of screwed surrealism.

Titled as a story of the battle of the three sexes, *High Heels* is a comic melodrama about a love triangle involving a mother, a daughter and a transvestite. Isabella Rossellini is a faded pop star who goes home to perform in Madrid after a 15-year absence. She is also longing for a reconciliation with her daughter, Rebecca (Victoria Abril), after she also faded her TV success her career. A female supervisor named Franco Letral (Miguel Bosé), who mistakes Becky as a young star, completes the triangle.

For her part, the daughter has assumed her mother's post of entering the singer's ex-boyfriend, who owns the TV station where Rebecca works as a newscaster. After he is murdered, she confesses to the crime while reporting it on TV. That is just the first of many bizarre twists in a fast-paced whodunit. And as Almodóvar's previous films, the art direction is as outrageous as the plot. The sets are colored in Tropicana hues of aqua, coral, avocado and magenta. *Heels* is a melodramatic vision in lipstick red, but beneath the modish surface of Almodóvar's melodrama, there is in the end a flowering of colorful emotions, a beautiful sadness. *High Heels* struts its stuff—then sends a smile through the heart.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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FOR THE RECORD

Unchained melodies

Leading musicians release hot new albums

BLACK EYED MAN
Cowboy Junkies
(JMG)

With *Black Eyed Man*, Toronto's Cowboy Junkies take a bold step beyond *The Trinity Session* (1986), the band's million-selling breakthrough album. Covering a whole spectrum of styles, the new recording features guitarists from Merle Haggard and stranger songs by her greatest brother, Michael. There is a sultry swing to Tarrant's voice on the country-tinged *Southern River*, one of several deeply etched vignettes of American life. And the really gutsy up the volume on *Murder, Tonight*, in the Twister Park, a tough rock number with an intriguing, albeit narrative. But the most powerful track is *The Last Spike*, a folk-flavored tune that chronicles railway, post-office and TV-station closures across Canada. Tarrant's plaintive delivery makes the song a plea to salvage the national dream. Like much of *Black Eyed Man*, it signals maturity from one of the country's brightest bands.

ULICH
David Byrne
(Sire/Warner)

Pop's oddball adventurer David Byrne has sometimes taken his musical explorations too seriously. On his last album, *Sho*, the

former Talking Heads front man studiously listed the rhythms used on each of his songs. But the music itself, which grabbed his survival from other women's lyrics, failed to make the grade. His latest effort, *U-LICH*, is more successful, mostly because there is simply nothing too serious. Like a good Heads song at its best, *U-LICH* is a collection of a parent's sex-charged, And the lovey reggae of *Dark on My Mind* features his trademark yelps and yodels. Byrne's modernism is especially apparent on *The Cowboy Man* (*Hey Look! My New*), in which he seems to be teasing *Lawrence* from his looser up, Byrne is beginning to sound at home with his quirky global beat.

INGENUE
k.d. lang
(Sire/Warner)

For fans who have always known that a serious singer lurked beneath k.d. lang's tongue-check country exterior, *Ingenue* is a thrilling confirmation. Gone are the baroque house and country-punk affectations that characterized—and sometimes marred—her earlier style. A moody collection of ballads, *Ingenue* is steeped in the best traditions of such singers as Julie London and Patsy Cline in her pop period. And the songs, written mostly by lang and fellow *Sex* *Music*, reveal a surprising vulnera-



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FOR THE RECORD

History: On *The Wind of Love*, a tale of tortured romance, (sing into barrel), "where is your head, Kathy/where is your head?" And on *Save Me*, a shimmering ballad, her voice weaves over the listener like a warm ocean wave. Meanwhile, there is a haunting melody in *Shadows of My Soul*, which features a surprising trace of Jewish jazz, known in Klezmer music. Tinseltown lounge music with some sophisticated twists, *Anytime* promises to take the gifted vocalist to even greater heights of popularity.

MATTERS OF THE HEART
Tracy Chapman
(Elektra/Warner)

A passionate folk singer with a social conscience, Tracy Chapman took the pop world by storm in the late 1980s with stark songs that depicted the pain of racism and economic poverty. Chapman's success (her self-titled debut album topped the charts, and she joined such rock superstars as Bruce Springsteen as Amnesty International's Human Rights Now! tour in 1988) gave rise to a wave of sensitive female singer-songwriters. Other than album, *Mother of the Street*, Chapman continues to sing emotional songs with her own acoustic guitar accompaniment. But now, her lyrics are more personal than political and, with the help of session players who include Living Colour guitarist Vernon Reid, her music has achieved a strong rhythmic dynamic. *Cyber Avenue* is a tender love song, while the percussive *O' Thee Art the Things* deals with abstracted themes. One of the most revealing songs in the title track, in which Chapman confesses to mistaking a fool of herself in romantic affairs. After all her candid views of others' lives, such personal honesty is highly refreshing.

SPORTS OF ROMANCE
Jane Brunett
(Gems/CBC Family Network)

Jane Brunett has often turned to Cuba, one of the world's hotbeds of rhythm, for inspiration—most notably *Duque Góngora*. Canada's Jane Brunett fell in love with the island's music more than 10 years ago, when the flutist and soprano saxophonist married there with trumpeter Larry Green. A rising international jazz star, Brunett and husband Green recently returned from Cuba with a valuable souvenir: *Spirits of Havana*, a proud collaboration with several top Cuban musicians. Some of the recording, featuring virtuoso singer Mercedes Valdes and percussionists Grupo Yoruba Avante, is simply well-produced, traditional Afro-Cuban music. But such musicians as *Pi Siempre Olatras* (Forever Strong and Nappé) and Brunett's own *Ayana*, an instrumental salute to Miles Davis, stand out as joyful, stirring pieces of Latin jazz. And the album highlights the driving work of parent Gonzalo Rubalcaba. Working under the spell of Cuba's powerful rhythms, Brunett has captured a magical sound.

NICHOLAS FENONOS



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Life without Father

Mona Simpson depicts the pain of abandonment

THE LOST FATHER
By Mona Simpson
(Random House, \$26 pages, \$27.50)

American writer Mona Simpson set a high standard for herself in her extraordinary first novel, *Aspen* (1990), a powerful, quietly sexy story about an erotic novelist and her mother-in-law who seduces her young daughter as their romantic life together. In her new novel,

and, apart from a brief reappearance in their lives when they moved to California, they have not heard from him since. In some ways, her father's absence has defined Mayra's life more than his presence ever could have. In created, she believes, a hole in the centre of her childhood. "When somebody does that to you, it makes you feel worthless," she says. That first betrayal prepared her for a life of little faith. "I never felt surprised," she confesses, "when a letter came back parked against someone's conscience."

RETURN TO SONDER if a package never showed, if a telephone did not ring."

Simpson brilliantly describes the complicated erotic life lived by a woman who feels rejected by her father. While in her mind her phantom father achieves mythical proportions, she develops other available lovers, who serve her as a patch as the novelists about her father and her need to find him. Conversely, she looks for larger-than-life men: In a memorable line, she says "I wanted someone who could slip a hand into my chest without slipping skin, touch the centre and bend that metal, transforming me."

Mayra is becoming the best of a deeply sensitive creature—sensitive, disorganized and, there it is, obsessed. While other women of her age

search, she is going inside her dusty private investigator to help her find her father. She pores through telephone books, makes hundreds of long-distance phone calls and patters distant relations and former employers of Atax.

She believes that she has to be aggressive to obtain any information whatever—"My most urgent question was the last I had seen of someone who's written to me." She knows that some time, somewhere, her father's name will surface and lead her not only to a reason with him, but to a way of getting on with her own stalled life.

The *Lost Father* occasionally feels stalled as well. It is difficult for any writer, even one as gifted as Simpson, to make someone's absence as compelling as his presence. Atax does get

close in his life to a character the way Mayra's mother, Adele, does. When Mayra reviews her restless childhood with her unpredictable and monstrously selfish mother, the writing is as vivid as in *Aspen* but also, as if Adele engages Simpson's talent and imagination more than any other character. "With my mother, I was never first. [She] hated me deeply with real pain and glower."

Mayra believes that her missing father might have protected her from her mother—if he had stayed. But it is a hard "if" to get around. And as a result, she undertakes what she herself admits is a "hellish, staggered, self-indulgent search," but one that she has become dependent on, "the way people become addicted to an sleeping pain."

Gradually, as Mayra gives up any pretense to a normal life and takes to the road—traveling first by car, then taking the Amtrak, then, then flying to Canada and, finally, ending up in California, the novel, like the search itself, becomes urgent and profound.

There is a resolution to the search, and it is a frustratingly unconvincing one. No man alive could live up to such a prolonged and compelling quest, and if someone like Adele is, after all, "only a part"—selfish, and self-destroying. To work the end of *The Lost Father*, Mayra has already excluded "Maybe by the time you found a person. They were always beside the point." However, the search could be never beside the point, and it is that search, delayed in prose that is sometimes dull and flat, sometimes funny and sometimes breathtaking, that is Mayra's road to higher ground.

JUDITH TIMMONS

Maclean's

BEST SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *The Road to Omaha*, Coulton (1)
- 2 *Being Sam*, Cronin (2)
- 3 *The Prisoner*, Gribble
- 4 *Burden of Desire*, MacNeil
- 5 *Yes, Father* (3)
- 6 *The Republic of Love*, Sklar (18)
- 7 *Madness*, Silver
- 8 *Prayers of a Very Nice Child*, Connor
- 9 *Sugar Street*, McEwan (3)
- 10 *Murder & Walking Spirits*, Davis (33)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Revolution from Within*, Stevens (1)
- 2 *A Return to Love*, Robinson (2)
- 3 *Wealth Without Risk for Canadians*, Green (3)
- 4 *Backlash*, Finkel (3)
- 5 *Pigeon Report*, Finkler (4)
- 6 *Steaming Baylins, Stage and Brief* (5)
- 7 *The New Canada*, Manning (13)
- 8 *Stolen Continents*, Wright
- 9 *The Betrayal of Canada*, Hartley (4)
- 10 *Millennium*, Whyte-Care

(1) Fiction best seller

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Simpson: a prolonged, compelling quest becomes profound

The *Lost Father*, Simpson, 34, becomes deeper into that past, offering another remarkable, if more intricate, story about the daughter, now grown up, and her relentless struggle to fit another piece into the puzzle of her lost childhood—her missing father. Part detective story, part psychological novel, *The Lost Father* portrays in its economy and pain, but also in its wit and control, the trouble Englishmen have when their fathers are emotionally or physically absent in their lives.

Mayra Stevenson, a young medical student living in New York City. Once she was called Ana, but she has assumed her birth name, Mayra—"like the rums" she observes—since the war given by her father, a handsome Egyptian academic named John Atax. Atax left his wife and young daughter in the 1940s



Read their lips: it is to laugh

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Opposition politicians are obtuse. All they ever do is complain. They attack simply for the sake of attack. The public grows weary of their constant car-picking, the incessant search for some "break point."

Our current example is Liberal finance critic Herb Gray. When the budget comes down, he demands to know why Brian Mulroney's government was spending \$2.5 million on a museum of humor in Montreal while jacking its promise to introduce universal day care.

"Why is there no money for research, the unemployed and day care but millions of dollars for the museum of humor?" asked Gray. "Is it because the Prime Minister wants a showcase for all his broken promises?"

This is a rebuke to a complaint, as any taxpayer knows. If there is ever a need for anything in this country, it is the Museum of Humor Cultural Complex now under construction and creating hundreds of jobs in recession-ravaged Montreal.

Brian Mulroney knows what he's doing. Should governments in the future be deprived of a record of how his government has governed? This is the stuff of history. The regime that grandiosely announced in Don Mazankowski's budget that it was going to help trim the deficit by forklifting cars to fly first-class? When there are so first-class flights out of Ottawa anymore? A museum of humor is what we need.

A finance minister who proudly announced that—even the high and mighty must sacrifice—the PM and his cabinet were voluntarily taking a five-per-cent pay cut? And, under examination, it is revealed that the five-per-cent applies only to the top-up they receive for being in the cabinet, leaving their basic and very healthy pay dollar untouched?

If pressed, the ordinary taxpayer would be willing to enrich that \$5.5 million so we can get the Museum of Humor Cultural Complex finished so the quick, as case we must apologize. We wouldn't, for example, want to lose the museum of loss. Transport Canada, in charge of Pearson International Airport in Toronto, has abandoned as proof of its modern



thinking a new airport based at Terminal 3. And now, within a year, because a new runway is needed, must tear the top three stories off the terminal four planes taking off will end up in the bathroom.

Could Mark Seaman do it better? Better Kestler? Of course not. Herb Gray is no short-sighted. We need this complex, rising now, \$2.5 million strong and accelerating, badly. It being Montreal the \$3.3 million this year mysteriously grows from the \$3.3 million spent last year, it would only be appropriate that a humor museum should take on aspects of the imaginative. Big Owe, Jean Drapeau's famous pregnant man, wherein it was revealed that golf trucks on the Olympic Stadium site would drive in one entrance, be checked through, would drive out the other and instead, double around the block and check in again.

Anyone who cannot see that this government, in this time, in this era, needs a humor

museum is a dwarf in intellect, blind to the realities of life. This is the government, after all, that to display its wit took the elegant Marcel Maréchal, who gave us a cape, from his cultural portfolio and paraded him into the defense ministry. As Maréchal, Nicholas Vance, has only possible affinity with the world's famous would be those cute uniforms of the military band, with all the brass buttons on the tunic and the ostrich feathers protruding from their helmets.

Brian Mulroney has a sense of humor of course, which is why the museum of humor is in Montreal, set in Split Lap, Alta. A great translator, surely has a sense of humor when he delivers a cautious promise of constitutional reform—start of March Lake—which ends up in its final form on TV with winking, pointing reporters and commentators and expensive politicians, desperate for a deadline—and thereby reminding every single Canadian of the dying nights of the March Lake fiasco.

A museum of humor? We may need two of them. To record a government that dares to cause the deficit, it is asking the Remembrance Council of Canada—which endorsed the first last fall with an economic analysis saying that certain aspects of separation would not be too bad? A government that killed the Law Reform Commission—because that body differed with Joe Clark, so the experiment over a separate judicial system for native peoples? A government that boasted of killing 23 agencies, neglecting to tell us that only 370 remain? That is a government apparently in need of a humor program. It can't even figure out how many cod there are off Newfoundland. The PM appeared a close friend, a sympathetic politician, to the cabinet all season of keeping Quebec in Canada and that close friend is now head of a party dedicated to kicking Quebec out of Canada.

This is a country where the head of "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition" in Quebec spends his every hour determined to make Canada into two countries, a concept I do not feel Her Majesty had in mind.

If we are going to have a Museum of Humor Cultural Complex, there are some who think we should install Dave Broadfoot, the Royal Canadian Air Farrier, as Kicking Horse Pass, so prime minister. Every one who thinks the so-called Kicking Horse Pass in fact is the prime minister.

Joe Clark is long as that time ball in Calgary? The apostate apostles during their homo sex? Sheila Copps in a future state? The word is stateless.

Humor is a fact is hardly novel. The facts are funny enough by themselves.



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